

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

India snaps back

Speaking of human rights, India has given the world an extraordinarily moving demonstration of a nation's love of freedom. Through peaceful balloting tens of millions of Indians, many of them impoverished and illiterate, have repudiated the authoritarian rule of Indira Gandhi. The system of parliamentary democracy in this dominant nation of South Asia is vibrantly alive, a fact that should buoy the forces of freedom everywhere.

The broad judgment can be made that the economic justice pursued so zealously by Mrs. Gandhi was not sufficient to surmount the public's frustration of living under her often-draconian emergency measures. Democracy has not had such a long history in India. It has also had its grave flaws. But it is poignantly apparent now that it has given Indians something they value, a system in which the many different regional, ethnic, and religious groups of India's huge population can have a voice in their government.

Mrs. Gandhi miscalculated. She presumably thought the nation was in sufficiently good economic shape to enable her to weather any challenge to her rule. Indeed the progress made in the 20 months of dictatorial administration is noteworthy. Inflation is under control and food bins are brimming over. The economy is growing at a respectable rate. More order and discipline is observable in society. There is less profiteering, corruption, and hoarding.

Yet the question is whether these gains would not have been possible without suspending civil liberties — jailing political opponents, muzzling the press, weakening the courts, and

bending the Constitution and the law to the Prime Minister's own convenience. The tragedy for many critics is that many of Mrs. Gandhi's worthy objectives could have been achieved without eroding the nation's democratic institutions.

No less were Indian voters resentful of Mrs. Gandhi's promotion of her own son to considerable personal power. Sonjay Gandhi was roundly trounced in the constituency where he was making his first bid for Parliament, a defeat which probably reflected also the public opposition to his vigorous efforts to promote forced sterilization of men.

Where does India go from here? An era has come to an end. For the first time the nation has had a peaceful turnover of government and Indians now will see what the opposition can do in power. The challenge before the new leadership will be to show it is capable of constructive non-destructive government, of promoting stability not chaos (as Mrs. Gandhi charged of her opponents). The Congress Party, for its part, which has dominated the Indian scene for almost three decades, will have to rebuild itself if it is to play a leading role again.

In the broadest sense, the task in New Delhi will be to put India firmly back on the path of political democracy and to prove that democracy is not irrelevant to social and economic progress. The contribution India can make to mankind's aspirations for freedom and economic betterment is immense. It is to be hoped that the defeat of Mrs. Gandhi heralds a renewed effort in this direction.

France moving leftward

As in India, in France, too, the electoral tide is running against the "ins" — in this case President Giscard d'Estaing and the center-rightist alliance of parties. The second round of French municipal elections has confirmed a steady leftward trend in voting patterns there. One result is that the opposition leftist alliance of Socialists and Communists now controls about 70 percent of French cities with a population of over 30,000 people, giving the coalition a strong power base for the national elections scheduled for next year.

But not all the victories at the polls were those of the left. Mr. Giscard d'Estaing received another setback when his hand-picked candidate for mayor of Paris was defeated by the man he ousted from the premiership, Gaullist Jacques Chirac. Now Mr. Chirac too has a prestigious platform from which to launch future campaigns for national power, as well as for vigorous attacks on the Socialists and Communists.

There are a number of explanations for the leftist swing. One is French concern over the nation's economic situation. Another is sentiment that the center-right faction has had enough time (nearly 20 years) to solve France's problems and that the left should be given a chance to prove its claim it can run things better. A third is an apparent lack of enthusiasm for President Giscard d'Estaing and his moderate policies. Such factors as these enabled the Socialist-Communist combine for

the first time in two decades to continue its municipal gains into the second Sunday of balloting, usually the last does better in the first round than the second.

The result is that the President's right-wing rival now has an official post, as well as allies among the Gaullist members of the Giscard Cabinet. And the prospects for a leftist victory next year are considerably improved. As Socialist leader François Mitterrand put it, "A strong wind is blowing and the country has sensed it." But it remains to be seen if the leftists can hold onto their momentum until next year, especially if the center-rightists manage to mend their differences in the interim.

The rift is deep, however, and the opposition has exploited it well. In some instances, for example, the Communists were able to win control of cities in Socialist areas because the stronger Socialists cooperated by allowing Communists to run on their tickets. But most city halls now will have Socialist mayors, although a number of major cities in addition to Paris still remain in center-right hands.

All in all, the elections provided little encouragement for the French leader and his supporters. It will remain for a future day at the polls to show whether or not Frenchmen are ready to put leftists in control of the national government as well as municipal councils. But the trend at present is in that direction, and the President may have to name the day sooner than expected.

Mirror of opinion

The only plan for Rhodesia?

Against the odds, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith has freed his party of its most reactionary element. For the first time, black opposition Members of Parliament voted with the Rhodesian Front in order to save the Smith Government and to prevent a damaging, probably counter-productive, general election. This is a hopeful break in the Rhodesian logjam. Unquestionably, Mr. Smith is now in a more central position and better placed than he has been for many years to reach for a negotiated settlement. He needs to establish an indisputable leader of black Rhodesians (not the stooge Chirau) and then come to terms with him.

One way to achieve the first objective is to hold a referendum, hoping that Bishop Abel

Muzorewa will oppose him. The bishop is certainly the most moderate of his adversaries, the most pro-West, and commands overwhelming internal support. If Bishop Muzorewa decides to fight Mr. Smith at a referendum on settlement terms, he would mobilize black support. On the face of it, Mr. Smith would get a sound thrashing. But he would be content. He would have found, perhaps even made, the man with whom he must negotiate.

The main hurdle will remain, of course. Mr. Smith will then have to produce terms for transition to black rule acceptable to the bishop. If he is able to do this, there is little doubt that a black-ruled Rhodesia led by a nationalist who has proved his popular support would ultimately gain acceptance by the West.



Brezhnev's bluntness

It was to be expected that President Carter's outspoken advocacy of human rights would arouse indignation in the Kremlin. Hence Leonid Brezhnev's tough speech assailing the United States for using the issue to interfere in the Soviet Union's internal affairs comes as no surprise. Mr. Brezhnev's prestige is on the line and, in the Soviet context, he could do no less than warn publicly that U.S.-Soviet relations could be impaired if Mr. Carter persists in his policy. That he should do this just before Secretary Vance lands in Moscow fits in with Soviet pressure tactics.

But two things interest us about Mr. Brezhnev's speech. One is that, while his comments on human rights were explicitly blunt, he did not foreclose the possibilities of moving forward in the most crucial areas of Soviet-American relations: strategic arms control, a reduction of forces in Europe, the Middle East, and trade. The Russians are clearly eager to break what they call the "stagnation" in relations. Brezhnev devoted the bulk of his speech to these subjects.

Second, we are struck that the more the Soviet leadership seeks to defend its own position on human rights the more it exposes itself and the more it seems to justify the West's growing moral assertiveness. Take, for instance, this statement by the Communist leader: "As to the Soviet Union, we do not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries although, of course, we have quite a definite opinion about the order reigning in the world of imperialism, and do not conceal this opinion."

Yes, Mr. Brezhnev? If such is the case, the United States and other Western nations might rejoice in the same vein: "As to the West, we do not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries although, of course, we have quite a definite opinion about the order reigning in the world of communism, and do not conceal this opinion."

The fact is that the Russians have always felt free to comment, through their controlled press and often in the most scurrilous tones, on the deficiencies of Western societies. Since the

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Super two duel for bombs and allies

U.S. defense budget: wasteful or wise?

By John Dillon
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

How much "fat" is left in U.S. defense spending? Budget-cutters on Capitol Hill are convinced there is plenty — including things like too many weapons systems, excessive manpower costs, wasteful management.

But many defense specialists in the White House and in Congress say the cutting has gone far enough, especially now, in the midst of arms talks in Moscow with the Russians. This is the moment, they say, to show U.S. determination and strength — not to cut budgets.

The debate exploded into the open March 28, when the House Budget Committee slashed another \$4.2 billion from President Carter's already slimmed-down defense budget for fiscal year 1978 (which begins Oct. 1).

The committee's action — branded as "completely wild" by opponents — almost assures a heated fight before the full House in April. It also increases pressure on the Senate Budget Committee, which is about to take up defense spending.

Here's what has happened up to now:

— Former President Ford, in his final spending proposals, included \$123.1 billion in budget authority for defense.

— President Carter, who had vowed to trim defense outlays, cut the Ford budget to \$120.1 billion, down \$3 billion.

— Four major congressional committees came in with similar figures (House Armed Services Committee recommended \$120.9 billion; House Appropriations, \$120.4 billion; Senate Armed Services, \$121.3 billion; Senate Appropriations, \$121.8 billion).

But the House Budget Committee, which sets spending targets, charged that the White House had overlooked many areas for savings. In a split decision, the committee slashed Mr. Carter's budget down to \$116 billion.

"What this means," charges one congressional defense specialist, "is that the budget committee has wiped out all real growth in defense spending for the new year. If allowance is made for inflation, outlays would be down \$900 million from 1977."

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Détente depends on Brezhnev

By Victor Zorza
Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

The Vance mission in Moscow may prove, in hindsight, to have been the last chance to restore the process of East-West bargaining initiated by the Nixon-Kissinger regime and to resume the momentum, stalled by Watergate, of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and the other aspects of détente, such as trade.

Whether it is the last chance depends on how long Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev remains in power.

He has not lately traveled in the West, so the Central Intelligence Agency's chances of searching for clues to his state of health have been severely limited.

The CIA has engaged some of the leading scholars in the field to study the problems of the Kremlin succession. One conclusion which no analyst can escape is that every Soviet succession has been accompanied by a power struggle in the course of which the usual Kremlin differences between hawks and doves have become more accentuated. Because the contending factions need to secure the support of the military and of the KGB's secret police apparatus, the new leadership tends to make concessions to them. This makes its foreign policies less accommodating and its domestic policies more conservative.

This was the pattern when, after the death of Stalin, Party Secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev took on Prime Minister Georgi M. Malenkov and defeated him with the help of the military. After Mr. Khrushchev had paid his political debts to the military, he turned against their insatiable demands for the nation's resources — whereupon he was overthrown by Mr. Brezhnev, again with the help of the military.

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Peter Rabbit: 75 years and 11 languages later

By Jo Ann Levine
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
New York

"My dear Noel," wrote Beatrix Potter in 1893 to the five-year-old son of her former governess. "I don't know what to write to you, so I shall tell you a story about four little rabbits whose names were — Flopsy, Mopsy, Cotton-tail, and Peter."

Eight years later, in 1901, Miss Potter privately published 250 copies of "The Tale of Peter Rabbit," which had been rejected by several publishers.

In the 75 years since, the publishers, Frederick Warne & Co. (which on the date of the first printing quickly reached their rejection), have sold some 20 million copies of that little book written by a shy, introverted woman who lived on the third floor of her family's gloomy upper-crust home in South Kensington, London.

On the occasion of Peter Rabbit's 75th birthday, Warne has published, "The History of the Tale of Peter Rabbit," and "Peter Rabbit's Natural Foods Cookbook," by Arnold Dobson and illustrated by Beatrix Potter.

However, Peter Rabbit's birthday may mean the discovery of Beatrix Potter, artist, by many Americans. New York University's Gray Galleries is planning an exhibit of some 300 Beatrix Potter paintings (April 1-May 16) — paintings which are usually at home in London's Victoria and Albert Museum.

"It is all the same, drawing, painting, modeling, the irresistible desire to copy any beautiful object which strikes the eye," she once wrote. "Why cannot one be content to look at it? I cannot rest, I must draw, however poor the result, and when I have a bad time come over me it is a stronger desire than ever."

Her "bad times" were many. The only real freedom for her and her younger brother, Bertram, were summers spent in the Lake Country of Scotland. Miss Potter's official biographer, Margaret Lane ("The Tale of Beatrix Potter," first published by Warne in 1946) wrote that in Scotland, "in white-washed cottages... whole families lived in a way which her instinct told her was sensible and right."

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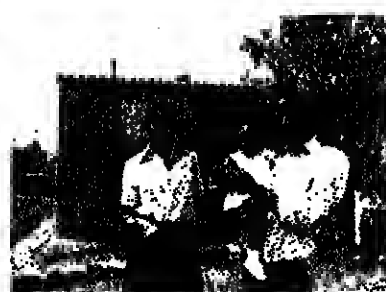


The Sudan

Waiting off the desert — not as hopeless as it looks [Story, Page 18]

By Mark Edwards

Highlights



UNFINISHED REFORM. Today the law says yes to any black South African wanting to buy his own house. But the practical difficulties are almost insurmountable. Page 11

HALTING THE DESERT. Villagers in a Sudanese oasis explain to the Monitor's Takashi Oka their feelings about plans to prevent the spread of the desert. Page 18

BRINGING UP JESSICA. A Monitor correspondent arranged to discuss childrearing with a knowledgeable father. But six-year-old Jessica had a better idea. Page 23

INDIA'S ELECTION. The issues that brought Mrs. Gandhi down are discussed by an informed columnist. Page 35

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
4-5 Grosvenor Place, London W1X 7AH
Phone: 01-235-3298

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLISHING SOCIETY
One Norway Street, Boston, Mass. U.S.A. 02115
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FOCUS

British publishers 'invade' U.S.

By Paul Van Slambrouck

Reading, Massachusetts
"We have no knowledge of marketing in the U.S., but we're very sophisticated when it comes to Sierra Leone," quips Rayner Unwin with more than a touch of dry British wit.

Mr. Unwin and scores of other British publishers are seeking a foothold in the tangled woods of U.S. book publishing, because for 30 years most of them have not sold books directly to the U.S. public. But like Mr. Unwin, a wave of British publishers now are moving to establish offices or subsidiaries on this side of the Atlantic, and the migration is likely to grow.

The reason is the termination last year of the 30-year-old arrangement known as the British Traditional Market Agreement. This "convenience," as Mr. Unwin calls it, effectively divided the English-speaking world into two markets. Instead of directly publishing in each other's "territories," American and British publishers sold each other "rights." With these publishing rights, however, came more than the usual honoring of the domestic territory. The British purchased rights from U.S. publishers for nothing less than what was once the British Empire. U.S. publishers typically got rights that included U.S. dependencies as well as the continental U.S.

A consent decree signed in November put

an end to compliance with this agreement by 21 American publishers after prosecution by the U.S. Justice Department. The decision carried the implicit threat that any other U.S. publisher "conspiring" with the British publishing industry to divide the world market was a likely target for antitrust action.

It was this dramatic end to the traditional territorial marketing of English-language books that brought Mr. Unwin to the U.S. in March.

Simply put, Mr. Unwin, chairman of the respected British publishing house of George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., of London is trying to sell books, instead of rights, in the United States. To achieve this he has formed a subsidiary, Allen & Unwin, Inc., in Reading, Massachusetts. Mr. Unwin is not alone in his effort to establish a publishing foothold in the U.S.

"We just picked up three more British publishers, and we've decided not to accept any more for the time being," comments Bruce Johnson. Mr. Johnson represents Merrimack Books, a marketing and warehousing outfit that recently set up offices in Lawrence, Massachusetts, for Paul Elek, Inc., and Faber & Faber, Inc., two well-known British publishers.

Both publishers opened U.S. offices last July. Merrimack will provide the necessary

manpower and services. Mr. Johnson says the two publishers "buy" what ever portion of the staff they want for their operation.

The decision to establish a presence in the U.S. was the result of many considerations, according to the Merrimack official. But the end of the marketing agreement was "the 2-by-4 that hit British publishers in the head and got them thinking seriously about U.S. subsidiaries," he says.

A list of British publishers in the U.S. two years ago, when the legal battle began, was less than half of what it is today (over 20), according to a tabulation by College Marketing, a sales and consulting firm for nine publishers, including Allen & Unwin.

There is nothing to stop individual publishers from continuing with the concept of the market agreement - the decree stopped compliance with the agreement only on an industrywide basis, as the British intended it from the beginning. However, the size of the U.S. market has tantalized British publishers for many years, and experts say the end of the policy has "galvanized" their interest in coming into the American market directly. Mr. Unwin points out that 50 percent of British books are sold outside that country; only 8 percent of U.S. books are exported.

George Allen & Unwin of London achieves over \$8 million in revenues yearly, 10 percent of which has traditionally been from the selling of U.S. rights.

Mr. Unwin, a past president of the British Publishers Association, says most of his peers are "not happy about the decree." However, he doesn't expect a free-for-all with U.S. companies: "Publishers have ways been civilized to some degree, and all we're dealing with a civilized product," he says.

Bulldozers roll the green back into Wales

By David Parry-Jones
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Cardiff
After a pause for planners to identify new targets, bulldozers and earth-movers are once more rolling in Wales, and the drive to make the valleys green starts again.

Some £13 million will be spent in the next five years or so to reclaim land devastated by industry. The intention eventually is to provide green-field sites for new factories, houses, schools, parks, and recreation areas.

The recently-established Welsh Development Agency, which will operate the scheme and pay the bills on behalf of the Government, says that Wales has some of the worst industrial dereliction in this world.

That fact may seem to contradict the image so zealously projected by its Tourist Board, of a country rich in verdant meadowland, clear-flowing rivers, tracts of golden, sandy beaches, and venerable castles to delight the visitor.

Thus it is important to emphasize that the dereliction is mainly confined to definite areas in the south and east of the Principality. There, 200 years ago, conditions were found to be ideal for the large-scale smelting of iron and copper and before long, huge reserves of coal were uncovered by speculators and entrepreneurs.

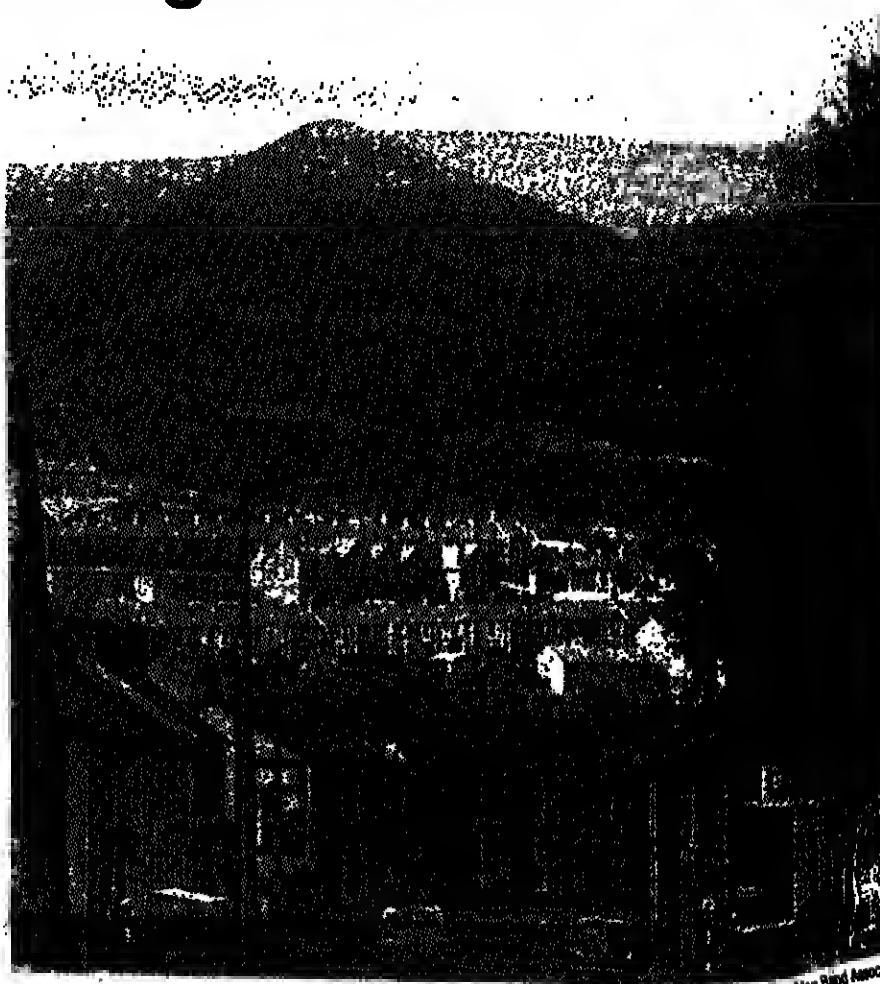
But early industrial man never "replaced the devils," so that regions like the Lower Swansea Valley, for example, and the Rhondda are still "defaced" by spoil heaps, disused quarries and mine-shafts, and abandoned industrial installations.

Here the land resembles a moonscape wasteland dotted with acrobatic remains of offices and ancient plant-housings. Not a pretty sight.

And of course an earlier notorious example, now mercifully removed, was the immense coal-rip above Aberfan, which a decade ago avalanched down upon the little village killing nearly 150 people including 119 children.

"Our new program will rehabilitate a further 2000 acres of such territory," says Sir David Davies, chairman of the Welsh Agency. "It is bound to make a grand contribution to improving the quality of life here."

But will the £13 million be money well-spent? Because, of the period at which they were developed, who predominantly rural Wales was being industrialized and urbanized for the first time, much of the terrain to be reclaimed lies near the hearts of towns and cities.



Rhondda Valley: still defaced by spoil heaps

Hence they will become prime sites when cleared and landscaped for industry and housing. And if the planners choose to turn them into parks instead, there will be plenty of citizens to enjoy the new facilities.

"We shall demolish a redundant power station on the banks of the River Usk," promises Sir David Davies, "which will free 25 acres for fresh industrial use."

"Close to the town of Newport, it will be only an hour and a half's journey from London by road or rail, and ought to tempt any expanding industrialist."

"Likewise the 50 acres which will be cleared on the edge of Cardiff's dockland, close to one of the British Steel Corporation's major plants."

South Wales has the biggest problem and therefore stands to gain most financially from the project, with £54 million earmarked for the project. This county contains the Rhondda Valley, where abandoned mine-shafts which once disgorged millions of tons of steam coal each year now stand forlornly, and an affront to the eye.

But £800,000 will be allocated to brighten up the West Wales tourist circuit, to pay for the remains of old lead mines, and for the remains of the hotel industry in the north-west of Snowdonia National Park, where mountainsides are strewn with slate-quarry debris.

"As a result of this program," says the Welsh Development Agency, "our country will be more pleasing to those who live and work here as well as to industrialists and tourists."

Europe

Britain's 1977-78 budget

Healey keeps one eye on unions, one eye on bankers

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

British Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey's proposed income tax cuts for his countrymen, coupled with tax increases on gasoline and cigarettes, are aimed at satisfying the two giants looking over his shoulder as he drafted his budget for the coming financial year.

These two giants are:

• The International Monetary Fund, which granted Britain a \$3.9 billion loan last December on condition that the government did not increase public borrowing beyond a \$14.7 billion ceiling - and kept tight control over the overall money supply.

• The British trade unions, sometimes in alliance with Labour's Left, which have been pressing for some alleviation for workers since

inflation (still running at 16 percent) has pushed their standard of living back to where it was three years ago.

Mr. Healey's basic problem was to satisfy these two giants simultaneously. The Labour Government needs to carry the trade unions with it if it is to succeed in its policies to stop Britain's economic decline. Above all, it is essential for the government to secure union cooperation for a third year in voluntary wage-restraint - and the negotiations for this third-year compact are coming up.

With an eye on this, Mr. Healey has made the full application of his income tax cuts dependent on the outcome of successful negotiations with the unions on wages. In full, the cuts would amount to \$3.72 billion. But if the unions do not agree to wage restraint, only \$850 million of the total will become effective. Reuter reports that application of full income-tax cuts

would amount to a pay increase of 4.5 percent to the average worker.

The tax increase on gasoline amounts to the equivalent of 7 cents on a (U.S.) gallon, and on cigarettes to the equivalent of 7 cents on a pack of 20.

Contrary to earlier forecasts, there were no increases in the budget - introduced by Mr. Healey in Parliament March 28 - in the taxes on alcoholic beverages, pipe tobacco, or in the value-added tax, a form of sales tax used throughout the European Common Market.

Mr. Healey said the main purpose of his budget is "to contribute to getting inflation down to the level of our competitors and to improving the performance of our manufacturing industry. . . . There is a real prospect of getting inflation into single figures by the second quarter of next year."

At this stage it looks as if Mr. Healey may well have satisfied the IMF with his budget

Music in the metro

Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Last year, the theme was "Police Patrol in the Metro." In response to an increase in muggings and thefts in Paris subways, police raided problem stations and "verified the identity" of suspicious-looking travelers.

This year the theme is "Music in the Metro."

The police are still there, patrolling in small groups and pairs. But the Public Transport Authority (RATP) has decided that the real solution to the subway problem is to make the Metro more human and less cave-like.

As a result, 20 of the Metro's underground caves rang with rock, chimed with classical music, beat with jazz, and generally came alive to the sounds of Latin-American, Algerian, Celtic, and folk music. The "Music in the Metro" festival, from March 23 to 26, brought 200 paid musicians into the plastic and concrete halls as one of the first phases in an overall renovation program.

Metro officials are hoping to prevent the advance of what the French call "Manhattan sur [on the] Seine." With new high-rise buildings marking the city's skyline, with people finding less and less time for leisurely lunches, and with big-city anonymity already making crowded subway trains a trial to ride, the RATP is hoping to brighten things up.

At the end of last week, American-style jazz and French accordion music filtered out of the Auber station near the Opera, where 100,000 people are soon expected to be funneling through at peak hours for a suburban rapid-transit service to be finished this year.

In the stylish Left Bank Montparnasse section, the Metro station offered a violin and a

clavichord, playing Handel's sonata for those two instruments, as well as a trumpeter, a singer, and more accordion music in other parts of the underground system.

The musical festival was taken with a grain of salt by the city's "buskers," the guitarists and other musicians who earn a living playing in the Metro for handouts. Until recently, they ran the risk of being thrown out by the police. But authorities decided a few weeks ago to formally accept the itinerants, who, unless they are too pushy trying to collect money, are usually viewed favorably by subway travelers.

The festival cost \$20,000 to pay the 200 musicians, plus the expenses of a publicity firm. When it was over, Metro officials planned to return the stations to the buskers.

To the annoyance of the now-official musicians, however, the RATP plans to issue three-

month permits. "For 10 years we have tolerated them," said one Metro official. "Now we will regularize them."

Presently, the buskers enforce a sometimes-tough social order among themselves, protecting the rights of the strongest or most senior to the choicest territory: notably where the most people pass or where there is room to stop and fish into one's pocket.

The buskers say they doubt the new regulations will change things much.

What has changed most noticeably in the Metro is the conditions in 23 stations. The RATP says it receives thousands of letters from people who complain that the Metro is gloomy. Because you can travel anywhere on one ticket and transfer at will, the underground network is full of long, damp tunnels, leading up and down stairs, around corners,

and connecting different train lines in the stations where lines cross.

The face-lifting effort, which has lasted several years, has concentrated on repainting and plasticizing. Moulded plastic chairs, in pink, purple, green, orange, and blue, sometimes shock the eye but also increase the seating space. Walls are frequently painted in bright colors to match.

The music festival, whose entertainers attracted more than 100 spectators at a time in some of the larger stations, and entertained the thousands who strolled past, was generally viewed as a success. The RATP now is working on plans for a painting festival and an artists' week, which would bring together a wide variety of craftsmen demonstrating their skills.

Tight belts today mean full wallets tomorrow, Portuguese told

By Helen Gibson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon
The government here has launched a massive campaign to persuade the Portuguese of the need for hardships now in order to build a better Portugal for the future.

Every day television commercials and newspaper advertisements appeal to the nation to work harder for less. The underlying theme of the campaign is an appeal to the Portuguese to accept a government austerity program that has limited wage increases while allowing prices to rise.

Prime Minister Mario Soares said the cost of living index, excluding housing, could jump up by 30 percent this year but that the government would limit salary increases to 15 percent.

The labor unions have not been pleased with the measures, but because of the financial crisis facing most companies, particularly in

the nationalized and government-controlled sector, they have been leery of pressing home their demands with much more than just threats of strikes.

The most powerful unions are mostly concentrated in sectors where the number of technically bankrupt firms outnumber the viable ones. The former are only being kept alive by the steady influx of government aid. An example of this situation is the critical hotel industry.

The government has been pouring money into this industry, mopping up deficits mounting toward the \$450 million mark to maintain jobs in hopes of a recovery. Hotel workers are still threatening strikes for wage increases which would cost another \$15 million a year, but they have so far held off.

Meanwhile Mr. Soares advised that any such action within the hotel industry - which is vital to rebuild the country's foreign reserves - would be considered "economic sabotage," a term the Communists introduced into the government lexicon to account for their massive

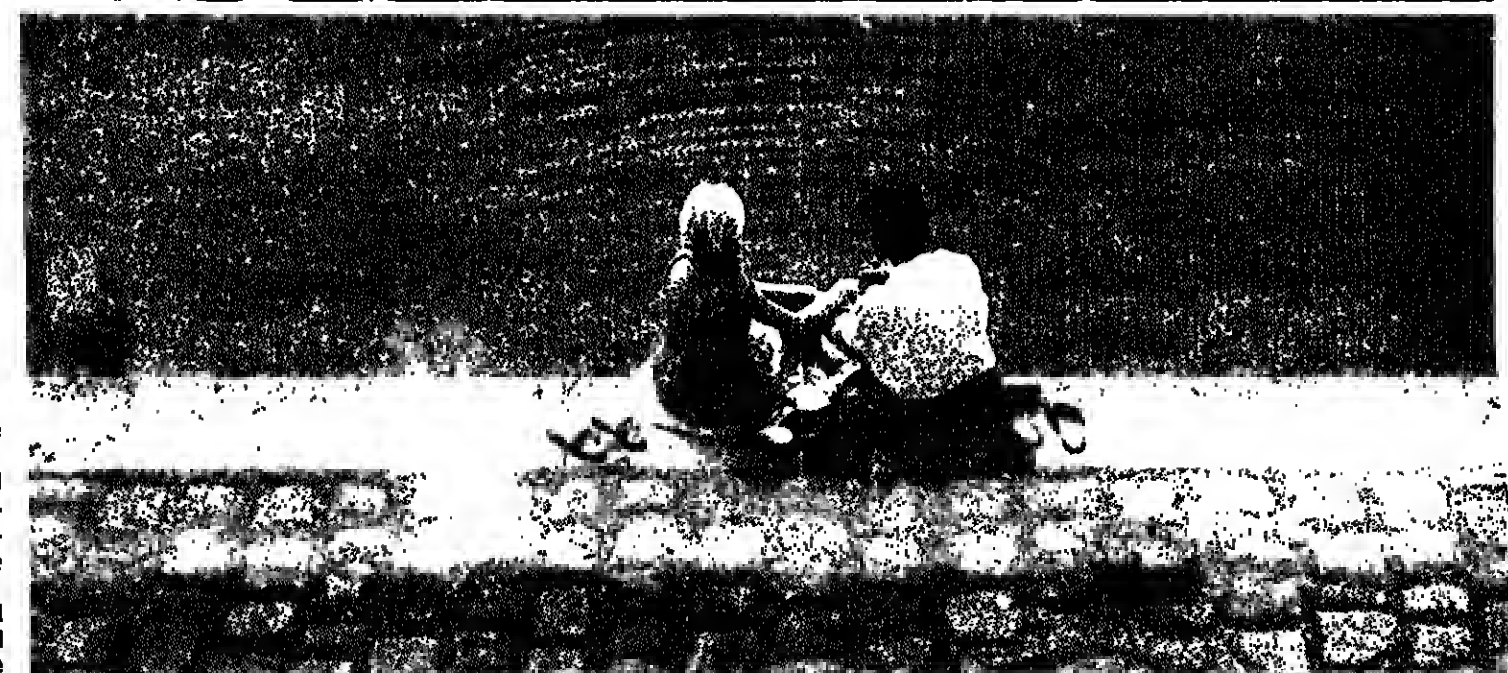
purges of managers in industry and business during 1975.

The reshuffle of the Socialist's eight-month-old Cabinet last week could be the first step toward the development of a new rationale for state-controlled firms - which account for about 30 percent of the business sector. The key Cabinet changes were the naming of new Labor, Commerce, and Industry Ministers charged with putting their respective houses in order.

During the swearing-in ceremony for the new ministers and a dozen-odd secretaries and undersecretaries, President Antonio Ramalho Eanes echoed the government's stress on the need for hard and willing work, and less politics.

"In the labor sector we must obtain a concerted effort that assures this conscientious, enthusiastic, and patriotic participation of the Portuguese workers to the creation of a new society," General Eanes said. "Ideological quarrels no longer have a place in our factories and fields."

The changes were seen as an attempt by Mr. Soares to broaden the Socialist minority government's base of support and improve its performance in the economic field. Despite the recent devaluation of the Portuguese currency and new austerity measures, the government's policy has been criticized for being too slow and for not going far enough to cope with the enormous economic crisis facing the country.



Paris, officials say, must remain a place of leisurely lunches and of quiet moments by the Seine

Europe

A birthday present for the European Community

Members take small, but realistic, steps towards unity

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Rome Under the cloudless blue skies of this eternal city, where cherry blossoms and wisteria and all other manner of flowers are in bloom, the European Community marked its 20th anniversary. With quiet ceremony and subdued pronouncements, the chiefs of the nine EC member states took so other few steps forward toward thinking and behaving as a community rather than as a helter-skelter assortment of states.

The steps are small because all the big steps have either been taken or remain blocked by national egotisms. As Luxembourg's Prime Minister Gaston Thorn has said: "On Sunday we discussed on the need to find community solutions, and from Monday on we obey our nationalist reflexes."

The nine agreed to let Roy Jenkins, president of the European Community's Executive Commission, attend the coming economic summit meeting of the world's 7 richest nations in London May 7 and 8.

EC representation at the London conference is seen as an important concession by the larger EC states - France, West Germany, Britain, and Italy - which would be attending the summit in their own right, along with the United States, Canada, and Japan. Europe's smaller nations wanted this assurance that their interests would be directly represented.

Some agreements reached

The nine agreed to take a common position in the so-called North-South dialogue favoring the establishment of a "Common Fund," a scheme to help developing nations stabilize export prices for a list of basic commodities like copper and cotton.

The details have yet to be worked out. But Prime Minister James Callaghan of Britain, current chairman of the European Council of chiefs of government, said he expected Europe and the United States to work out a common position before the dialogue with the developing nations resumes in Paris in May.

The nine agreed to tackle unemployment - totalling over five million in the community - with specific community measures to help women and young people.

The nine plan to increase the EC's borrowing capacity. The aim is not only to help members cover balance-of-payments problems, as in the case of Italy, but to encourage the restructuring and modernizing of industry.

EC leaders once again warned Japan to reduce its \$4 billion trade surplus by increasing imports from Europe.

Steel plan accepted

The nine accepted the Commission's recommendations on reorganizing the community's steel industry to counter the challenge of Japan's ultra-efficient mills.

And they have approved the idea of a European foundation to preserve and promote European culture.

These steps are not extraordinary. The heady enthusiasm of 20 years ago has given way to a much less grandiose sense of what can be achieved. Yet the heads of government who gathered in the soaring frescoes grand hall of Bernini's Barberini Palace might not go as far as French Socialist leader François Mitterand, who said sarcastically, "When Europe opens its mouth, it yawns."

EC leaders would say rather that reality has taught them

prudence, and that what has been achieved so far is not negligible - a customs union, a common agricultural policy, a non-labor market.

Direct elections in '78?

The promise of a directly elected European Parliament, only Italy has so far taken all the domestic legislative steps necessary to hold elections during the target year of 1978 comes next, and could for the first time give the EC some idea of a real constituency among the ordinary voters of its member states.

Many of the chiefs of government have domestic political troubles. Belgium and the Netherlands face elections, but Prime Minister Gillis Andreotti rules by sufferance of the Communists. French President Giscard d'Estaing has seen the opposition Socialist-Communist alliance sweep recent elections, and British Prime Minister James Callaghan survives only with the help of the 13-seat Liberal party. Germany has by far the strongest economy of the six. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, like some of his colleagues, with a thin majority.

The chiefs of government who gathered here in March 25 and 26 know by experience that individual states are not enough to keep European heads above the swirling waters of economic crisis.

The European Community's latest joint efforts merge small. Yet they are evidence of a growing sense of their work together. Interestingly, Europe recognizes that its economic equilibrium and the heard with respect to the United States and the Soviet Union, its member must progressively surrender chunks of their private sovereignties to a union that is only defining itself by steps.

European Communists no longer get U.S. cold shoulder

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris The Carter administration has been quietly moving to improve relations with European Communist parties, apparently preparing for the possibility of continuing good relations with governments that could eventually include Communist cabinet ministers.

This marks a clear change from the positions taken by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger toward European Communist parties. But in many ways it appears to be a change of tactics rather than policy.

There is still every indication that the United States would be unhappy to see Communists take on positions in European governments. The difference is that while Mr. Kissinger made his opposition to Communist government members publicly clear, Mr. Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance have instead stressed their intention to continue close ties to European countries.

Two nations especially

The two countries most concerned are France and Italy. In legislative elections now one year away, France's opposition coalition of Socialists and Communists is widely given better-than-even prospect of taking control of Parliament from the current center-right coalition.

West German investments on two-way world street

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

West Germany - alone among the major industrial nations to produce a consistent trade surplus these days - records nearly \$20 billion worth of directly controlled private business investments in foreign countries.

But foreign investors also hold nearly \$20 billion worth of directly controlled business investments in West Germany.

Germany has direct investments of about \$2 billion in each of four countries: the United States, France, Switzerland, and Belgium.

Direct investment in Germany is for more one-sided. U.S. investments total nearly \$8 billion. Switzerland holds less than \$3 billion worth of German investments and the Netherlands has \$2.4 billion.

That would possibly lead to Communist participation in the Cabinet.

In Italy, while the Communists hold no important executive offices, they hold the balance of power in Parliament.

About a year ago Dr. Kissinger and more quietly NATO supreme allied commander Alexander Haig said that the United States would have problems in military cooperation with any nation that had Communist government members.

That and some quieter diplomatic warnings were taken as threats in Italy and France.

Mr. Carter specifically criticized those statements during his presidential campaign, charging that they simply pushed the European Communists closer to the Soviets.

Visitors received

When a delegation of French Socialist leaders visited the United States just before the Carter inauguration, they were received by Mr. Vance and Vice-President Walter F. Mondale. The French Socialists returned from Washington saying that the United States would not try to interfere with French elections.

According to Jean-Pierre Cot, a leading Socialist member of Parliament, Mr. Vance told him that if the left won control of the government in France, it would pose no problem for the American government.

The clearest indication of the limits of the new administration's openness to the left came in February when an intergovernmental organization called the Western European Union admitted two Italian Communists and one French Communist, all members of their home parliaments, to its commission on armaments. The U.S. State Department then announced that during an upcoming visit of this commission to the United States, the program would be cut back. Arrangements were also made to remove sensitive material from the commission's briefings.

That indicated that the Carter administration could also be concerned about eventual military cooperation with a government in which Communists had access to secrets.

Slow approach taken

Overall, the Carter administration has gone slowly in its relations with the European Left. Sources say it has handed out no new directives to ambassadors, but there are indications that contacts are improving.

In Rome the new American Ambassador, Richard Gardner, paid a courtesy call to the president of the Chamber of Deputies, a Communist.

In an apparent effort to relax enforcement of the U.S. law controlling visits by foreign political extremists, the State Department has arranged a visa for the Communist Mayor of Florence, expected to make a ceremonial visit.

In Paris two American diplomats held a long talk a little over one month ago with Jean Kanaps, the Communist Party's top international affairs expert. Reports circulated that the two diplomats had given Mr. Kanaps an assurance that the U.S. Government would not oppose a government of the Left, but sources insisted that was not true.

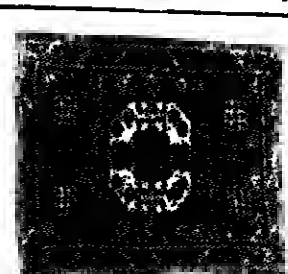
Flexibility reflected

The meeting itself, however, reflected the Left's approval of the Carter government's position. Mr. Kanaps recently published an article

in the American magazine Foreign Affairs in which he said the French Communist Party would not try to do away with the party democracy if the Left comes to power. He wrote that Communists would not oppose continuing French membership in NATO, although the Communists would like to see it truly renegeotated.

Mr. Kanaps apparently used the meeting to repeat those assurances to the Carter administration and to indicate that he hoped the American government will remain open to the idea of Communist cabinet members in Europe.

The French Left in general has cheered by reports from Washington that French press that Mr. Carter has been told the Left is most likely to win the 1978 election.



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Will the 200-Mile Fishing Zone Serve Mankind?

As you may recall, we expressed our thoughts on this matter under a somewhat similar headline last August. At that time, we stated that a nation which has to depend on the sea for food should not be deprived of the use of the sea. We also emphasized our position by saying that since the rule of the sea is a matter which concerns mankind's food problem, any new rule about the sea should be established only by general agreement at the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference.

Since then, however, one country after another has declared a 200-mile fishing zone following the United States' unilateral decision to establish such a zone.

We realize that establishment of a 200-mile zone is fast becoming a worldwide tendency. However, we wonder what the 200-mile fishing zone would mean for today if such zones were utilized merely to divide sea resources based on exclusivism. This is evident in the following consideration:

If the confusion at the Law of the Sea Conference is to be ended, and if the imbalance above in fishing zones quickly solved, it is necessary to return to the original spirit that led to the 3rd U.N. Law of the Sea Conference. We recall that

eminent speech made by United Nations Ambassador Pardo of Malta, who in the U.N. General Assembly in 1967 warned against "the dangers of dividing the sea." Later, upon hearing of the concept of a 200-mile economic zone proposed by Kenya, Ambassador Pardo deeply deplored this. He reportedly said with disappointment that matters were developing contrary to his intentions.

It is therefore evident that countries adjacent to vast coastal waters, as well as the United States, bear a grave responsibility for the effective use of natural resources. If all coastal countries should establish 200-mile zones, then 35 percent of all the oceans of the earth would literally be controlled by such countries. This 35 percent would contain 95 percent of all marine life.

Furthermore, there are great inequalities among the nations of the world. Some inequalities can be overcome by national efforts, but others cannot. Typical

inequalities which cannot be overcome are the size of territorial land and the quantity of land resources. In terms of per capita land area and the quantity of land resources, inequalities are even larger. A look at the distribution of fishery resources shows that they are in the waters around those countries blessed with large land areas and rich land resources. Moreover, such countries do not fully exploit and do not need to exploit their marine resources by themselves. On the other hand, many small, densely populated countries lacking natural resources like Japan do not have sufficient fishery resources adjacent to them.

Under such circumstances, we believe that the new 200-mile fishery zone should not be used as a means of prohibiting foreign fishing boats from fishing within the zone, based simply on exclusivism. We also think that it should not be used as a means both for limiting fishing quotas of foreign boats and requesting them to bear unjustly high fees for fishing by restricting their activities within the zone that is considered unnecessary and impracticable from the viewpoint of conservation of resources.

The United States is imposing an "allocation" fee on foreign fishing vessels equal to 3.5 percent of the value of their catch within the 200-mile zone. However, this is evidently too high from a business standpoint because the average net revenue of foreign fishing operations off the U.S. coast as estimated by the U.S. authorities is 5 percent, which is actually higher than the profit-sales ratio of most Japanese fishing companies concerned. Also, the proposed fees would consume 70 percent of the fishermen's profit margin.

We earnestly hope, therefore, that the United States will continue its efforts to improve conditions in actually implementing the 200-mile fishing zone operations.



For information on the fisheries industry in Japan, please contact us at the address below.

Also we would like to hear your comments on the above.

JAPAN FISHERIES ASSOCIATION

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Europe

European view of Carter's A-limits

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Rome If President Carter follows through on the statements he is making about halting nuclear proliferation and respecting human rights, he should be willing to accept some limitations on American sovereignty.

This is the view of Stefano Silvestri, deputy director of the Institute of International Affairs here in Rome, and a seasoned observer of transatlantic relations. Although Mr. Silvestri's opinions, as expressed in a recent interview, are his own, they reflect to some degree the fascination tinged with disquiet with which many Europeans watch the barrage of statements emanating from Washington these days.

"I agree," said Mr. Silvestri, "that nuclear proliferation and the export of nuclear technology should be controlled. I agree that human rights should form a basic part of the dialogue between East and West, North and South. I agree that foreign policy should not lose a moral dimension."

"The question is implementation. If what Mr. Carter says on preventing nuclear proliferation, on stopping reprocessing agreements and controlling the export of nuclear technology is right, it means that either the United States should become the only state to have any significant independent nuclear technology, or that it, too, should accept some kind of international restraint."

"We are coming back to the basic problems discussed in the [David E.] Lilienthal paper of 1945. There the choice was posed between national development and international or supranational development of nuclear technology."

"If one opts for national development, one loses the possibility of controlling nuclear development in the rest of the world. This consideration is still real. You can't ask West Germany, or Britain, or France not to export nuclear technology or to produce risky nuclear things unless there's some renunciation of American sovereignty as well, some surrender of power in this field to an international authority."

Similarly Mr. Silvestri said, on human rights, a verbal exercise is one thing. But "if you are imposing limitations, if you are saying nations must behave in a certain way, you will have to agree to reciprocal interference in domestic affairs through some kind of international institution - otherwise you will be turning the whole campaign into a kind of crusade."

In some ways, Mr. Silvestri is more concerned about the effect of human-rights campaigns on North-South relations than on East-West. President Carter and his subordinates, Mr. Silvestri noted, have spoken out against racism in southern Africa.

How are these statements to be followed up? Maybe the United States can do without Rhodesian chrome or South African uranium and gold. Disruption in Europe caused by a boycott would be greater.

The impression he has, Mr. Silvestri said, (and it is one that has been expressed by observers in other European countries as well) is that while Mr. Carter has thought through carefully his seemingly off-the-cuff statements in regard to his own American public, he has not yet spelled out the costs. Nor has he indicated what he wants other countries to do, what share the United States is willing to take on, and what results can realistically be achieved.

The Europeans fear the effect of Soviet reactions to Mr. Carter's human-rights statements on détente. As they watch Secretary of State Cyrus Vance negotiating in Moscow, they fear superpower arms control agreements that could diminish the deterrent capacity of allied forces in Europe even if the overall East-West arms balance remains in equilibrium.

"If President Carter wants to be known as a man of change, he has got to establish a new framework of stability for this change." Which means consultations, and more than consultations - the working out of a policy that will fit all these disparate pieces - human rights, economic problems, energy, military questions - into a cohesive whole acceptable because it will be understood by the European allies.

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United States

Even Republicans like Carter's voting reform

By Richard L. Street
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
President Carter's twofold electoral reforms could transform the Republican Party as well as the election process as a whole.

A remarkable political fact noted here is the degree of Republican leadership support accorded the revolutionary proposals to Congress.

Mr. Carter's universal registration bill would add a possible 25 million voters to presidential elections — and some estimate that two out of three would be Democrats.

Three top Republicans here last week supported the program: Senate minority leader Howard W. Baker Jr. (R) of Tennessee, House minority leader John J. Rhodes (R) of Arizona, and William Brock, Republican Party chairman.

The second major Carter proposal would abolish the Electoral College by constitutional amendment, this might give advantage to small states, many of which tend to vote Republican.

In 1968, then minority Leader Rep. Gerald R. Ford of Michigan led the successful fight in the House of Representatives to get the necessary two-thirds vote for an amendment to abolish the college. The effort failed in the Senate after a filibuster, but Senate filibuster rules have been modified since then.

Ex-President Gerald Ford reiterated to a breakfast group here March 28 that he wants the Electoral College abolished. He recalled his statement on the floor, September 18, 1968:

"There is a very high degree of unanimity . . . that we should do away with what I label as the archaic, outdated method that we have been using for the last 180 years or thereabouts for electing the president of the United States."

It seems likely that Congress will enact one or both of the Carter proposals, particularly if Republican support continues.

A constitutional amendment to abolish the Electoral College requires three-fourths approval of state legislatures, in addition to two-thirds majorities in Congress. Gerald Ford's past strong support should help prevent a partisan debate.

In 1824, an Electoral College deadlock threw the election into the House, which picked John Quincy Adams over Andrew Jackson. In 1876, and again in 1888, the Electoral College picked Republican Presidents (Rutherford B. Hayes and William Henry Harrison) who got a minority of the popular vote.

Mr. Carter's other revolutionary proposal — universal and quick voter registration — would bring in millions of new voters. It is believed. Only 53.3 percent of those voting age voted in 1976.

A CBS-New York Times survey of nonvoters has indicated that Mr. Carter had a 17-point lead over Mr. Ford among those who did not vote in November.

Other surveys indicate that lower-income, less-educated voters tend to vote Democratic.

Many state voter restrictions seem calculated to limit the size of the electorate. The chief argument against quick registration is that it would promote fraud. Former President Ford, who would end the Electoral College, opposes instant registration. The least the potential voter can do is to make one or two advance trips to the town hall to register, he told reporters.

The White House is delighted of the Barker-Brooks-Rhodes endorsement. In 1974, a "registration reform law" passed the Senate but was defeated in the House by seven votes. Republicans then overwhelmingly opposed it.

Republican legislative leadership support in this instance seems based on the belief that the party must widen its base in any case. It is encouraged by the near victory over Mr. Carter in 1976. The actual Republican vote is far higher than the theoretical Republican support indicated by party preference surveys, it is noted.

Carter wants more radio watts to carry rights message

By Clayton Jones
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
President Carter's latest extension of his campaign for universal respect of human rights may escalate a war of watts on world airwaves.

The President is requesting funds to boost the radio signals of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty, America's three international broadcasters.

Mr. Carter specifically wants to beam stronger radio signals to southern Africa, the

Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China, carrying official U.S. policy to many more millions of listeners. He asked Congress March 22 for 28 additional 250-kilowatt radio transmitters.

At present, Radio Liberty broadcasts aimed at the Soviet Union and most Radio Free Europe transmissions that hit Eastern Europe are jammed heavily, Mr. Carter said.

Voices of America, with 72 transmitters worldwide, is jammed only in its Mandarin Chinese broadcasts.

But, worse than jamming, America's ocean-powerful broadcasts now are barely audible in many parts of the world because of escalating competition on the shortwave radio bands from other nations. (In Voice broadcasts, America ranks sixth in number of hours each week and 18th in number of languages broadcast.)

Thus, Mr. Carter's proposal for transmitters would crowd the airwaves even more but replace many aging U.S. transmitters.

"Albania broadcasts louder to South America than the Voice," says a Voice of America news official.

Mr. Carter is also expected to decide in April whether to shuffle its United States Information Agency to give the Voice of America more independence and thus more credibility on world airwaves. A 1976 Carter campaign statement said the Voice was "entangled in a web of political restrictions."

The boost in transmitters, if passed, will also test the human-rights portion of the Helsinki accord, which called for "freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds." The Soviet Union has interpreted the accord as allowing no interference in internal affairs, and Soviet officials have criticized the broadcasts of the three U.S. agencies more than usual.



By a staff photo

An immigrant's first look at the new world

Ellis Island monument planned Where the melting pot began

By Ward Morehouse III
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York
Ellis Island is America . . . and it needs shoring up.

The 27-acre island in New York Bay, topped by the gabled, red-brick "great hall" — where 12 million Poles, Irish, Jews, and others first touched American soil — is in shambles.

But millions of relatives of these immigrants may soon come to the rescue of this "gateway to America."

"It's the greatest American monument, and it is falling down — that's the whole tragedy," says August C. Bollino, chairman of the Washington, D.C., chapter of the Restore Ellis Island Committee (REIC). "More than half the people in the United States are descended from people that came through Ellis Island."

Mr. Bollino, a professor of economics at Catholic University of America in Washington, will soon announce a fund drive for a \$70 million restoration of the island. "All I want is \$1 each [from each relative]," Mr. Bollino says.

Last May 28, the National Park Service

opened the island to visitors for the first time. It will again open this season on May 11. However, only 5 percent of the island can be used for safety reasons, according to David Miller, Park Service supervisor of Ellis Island. There is no way the rest of the island could be opened to the public without a substantial amount of additional funds for restoration, he says.

In the next few weeks Mr. Bollino will send a battery of letters to ethnic groups and Americans to drum up support for the restoration committee's goals.

Between 1892 and 1954 more than 12 million immigrants — "huddled masses yearning for free" as the poem by Emma Lazarra describes them — passed through the Great Hall of Ellis Island.

Harry McMannus, captain aboard a U.S. Service boat which docks at the nearby Statue of Liberty, says he remembers days back in the 1930s when he "used to bring them to Manhattan at two o'clock in the morning." McMannus reminisces: "It was so exciting. They were holding little babies . . . like a viceroy at night."



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Washington to pay UNESCO back dues

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, New York
President Carter has been urging the U.S. Congress to bury the hatchet used to chop off American contributions to UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

But it now appears that Congress is ready to put the hatchet aside — within easy reach.

This cautious American approach is expected to alleviate UNESCO's financial crisis. But it does not wholly solve it. Nor does it finally end the bitter dispute over the alleged "politicization" of UNESCO.

Within the past few weeks both Senate and House appropriations committees have voted to pay UNESCO the U.S. contributions for 1975 and 1976 — but not for 1977 as requested by President Carter and urged by the State Department.

In effect, Congress is saying: We'll pay our arrears, recognizing that UNESCO has made progress — but we'll hang

onto our \$27 million for 1977 in the hope that UNESCO will continue to purge itself of what we consider excessive politicizing.

Congress originally cut off the funds to UNESCO in response to three declarations taken by the 1974 general conference in Paris:

• The first 1974 decision was to withhold UNESCO aid to Israel until it respected previous UNESCO demands to stop archaeological digs in East Jerusalem (seized from Jordan in 1967). The 1976 general conference reaffirmed this stance. Since then, at least the most controversial of the Israeli excavations has quietly come to an end.

• The second 1974 decision was not to include Israel in one of UNESCO's regional groups. The 1976 conference, however, in effect reversed this by allowing each group to vote upon its own membership — enabling Israel to be invited to join the U.S. and Canada in the "European Group."

• The third 1974 decision was a resolution condemning Israeli educational policies in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The 1976 conference repeated this condemnation. But Israel now has accepted the

idea of a UNESCO mission to the area, once its May 17 elections are over.

Two further complications have been added. One is a Western "plus" — the shelving by the 1976 conference of a Soviet-backed declaration on the mass media which was widely interpreted as calling for government controls.

The other complication is a Western "minus" — acceptance of China's customary demand that nongovernmental organizations sever all ties with Taiwan. This has forced the London-based World Federation of Engineering Organizations to either cut off its Taiwanese affiliate or be excluded from a UNESCO conference on environmental education.

UNESCO's supporters say that by vigorous diplomacy the U.S. has dissolved the 1974 atmosphere of rancorous confrontation, and that real progress has been made in getting UNESCO back to its thoroughly worthwhile functions of combating illiteracy, preserving culture, and promoting scientific research.

UNESCO's critics describe it as taking three steps backward (the two Israeli resolutions and Taiwan) for every two steps forward (shelving of the proposal for government con-

trol of mass media and Israeli entry into the European Group). Hence the congressional compromise.

Within another week or so, a Senate-House conference committee is expected to reconcile the Senate's proposed \$43 million appropriation with the House's \$39 million.

An American payment on this sort of scale would enable UNESCO director-general Amadou Mahtar M'Bow to repay loans now totaling \$38 million which he has scraped together to keep the organization afloat. About \$24 million of this is in interest-free loans from oil-rich Arab states.

The expected American payment comes at the 11th hour. UNESCO's 45-member executive board meets in Paris April 25 to May 13. Without a U.S. contribution it would probably have been compelled to call an extraordinary session of the full general conference to work out ways of meeting the financial emergency and perhaps to cut programs.

The expected payment of American arrears, even without the 1977 payment also due, should obviate any such session, one which would probably have turned into a bitter onslaught against the United States and Israel.

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Christian Children's Fund, Inc.

Baby-selling to be outlawed

By Peter C. Stunrt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
"For sale: babies in good condition. \$25,000 or best offer."

The ad is illicit, but the transactions are not.

A growing demand from Americans wishing to adopt children and a dwindling supply of white infants is generating what is proving to be a thriving black market in illegal adoptions — an estimated 5,000 a year.

Now, Congress may take definitive steps to halt this human auction.

A House of Representatives subcommittee is holding hearings on (and refining) legislation which would fill a yawning gap in federal law by outlawing the arranging of adoptions for profit. Earlier, a Senate subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Walter F. Mondale (D) of Minnesota — now Vice-President — held informal hearings on the matter.

"We've shown there is a problem — an absolute void in federal law," says the bill's sponsor, Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R) of Illinois, in an interview.

This legal "void" permits baby-selling to flourish in interstate and international traffic, the hearings have disclosed. Some state indictments are stalled by jurisdictional challenges, while action against one alleged source of "imported" babies, Mexico, has been left to that country's authorities.

The problem has grown in the 1970s. Until then, children for adoption were readily available. But the situation has changed — spawned by swiftly changing American social attitudes.

A new acceptance of adoption and the relaxing of qualifications for adoptive parents are swelling the market for babies, while the growing acceptance of birth control, abortions, and

unwed mothers is strinking the traditional supply of infants offered for adoption.

These pressures are making adoptable children — particularly healthy, white infants — in the words of Representative Hyde, "a hot commodity."

The subcommittee was told by prosecutors and social-agency officials that impatient adoption applicants who can afford it are turning to black-market "brokers" — ranging from racketeers to seemingly respectable doctors and lawyers — who bargain for the offspring of young, usually single, and often frightened pregnant women.

The going price is \$10,000, \$15,000, or \$25,000 per child.

"Victimization just goes across the board," says Congressman Hyde. "The only one who profits is the broker."

The child is treated as a chattel, the natural mother is exploited financially and emotionally, and the adoptive parents acquire a child about whom they know virtually nothing and who may be unsuited for them, the subcommittee was told.

"We are not dealing with the sale of goods and services, but the sale of human life — and it is not only the child who suffers," testified Judith Pink, vice-president of American Citizens Concerned for Life, a family welfare organization.

The Hyde bill would make interstate or international baby selling a federal crime, punishable by a fine up to \$10,000 and/or as much as five years in prison.

No opposition has yet surfaced, but proponents are still seeking the active support of the Department of Justice.

The Criminal Justice Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee plans further hearings on the West Coast.

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Asia

Behind-the-scenes maneuvering

How will coup try affect Thai prestige?

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong
Will the military-backed government of Thailand draw new confidence — and attract stepped-up investment from overseas — in the wake of the abortive coup March 28?

The unsuccessful effort by a group of generals, backed by 300 troops, reemphasized the behind-the-scenes maneuvering for power that has overshadowed efforts to build confidence in the new government, which itself was brought in by military coup last October.

A follow-up coup attempt had long been predicted. Many observers stressed the unstable nature of the broad military coalition behind the current civilian Prime Minister, Thanin Kraivichien. Economic sources said concern about another coup was one reason the new government was having difficulty attracting foreign investment.

Indeed, the government showed its sensitivity to such predictions a few weeks ago when it expelled a correspondent for the Far Eastern Economic Review, Norman Peagam, on grounds that his reporting of the possibilities of another coup was objectionable.

There have long been signs that the new government has been acutely aware of the danger of another challenge from discontented elements in the military. Some sources maintain that those who staged the October coup did so to pre-empt yet another coup attempt by persons even further to the political right than themselves. Reportedly these included Gen. Chabard Hirayastit, who has been named as a leader in the March 28 attempt.

General Chabard was dismissed as No. 2 man in the Army last October and became a Buddhist monk at the royal monastery in Bangkok.

But, by the government's account, he left the monastery to lead this abortive coup.

The Thai government has announced that five leaders of the coup, including General Chabard, have been allowed to leave the country in return for the freeing of two high-ranking military officers held hostage. According to the government, Gen-

eral Chabard and about 25 others had held out at the Internal Security Operations Command Building in Bangkok until their flight out of the country was cleared. About 300 soldiers from a military base in Kanchanaburi Province, 85 miles west of the city, were said to have moved into Bangkok before dawn to take control of the Radio Thailand broadcasting station and three military installations. But within hours most of the rebels had surrendered to government troops.

Still to be answered is how these events affect the current balance of power among Thailand's military leaders — and their willingness to continue supporting Prime Minister Thanin.

Two events noted

These questions had already been emphasized by two events: the return to Thailand last January of former Deputy

Prime Minister Praphas Charusathien; and the leaving of a monastery in February of former Prime Minister Thanin Kraivichien. Both men had fled Thailand after a student revolt that helped topple their government in 1973.

Some sources have reported signs that the reemergence of the two men has stimulated political maneuverings within the military coalition. (Reuters reported from Bangkok that military surrounded the whereabouts of the leaders of the abortive coup.)

(The government had said that General Chabard [a former deputy Army chief and commander of the Thai troops in the fight in Vietnam] and four other coup leaders had been allowed to leave the country.)

(But official comment was not available on newspaper reports that the five men were in detention in Bangkok after Thanin, their announced destination, refused to accept them.)

Half for A-plant projects, but...

By Reuter

Tokyo
Half of the Japanese population supports further development of nuclear power plants in Japan, but at the same time 45 percent oppose construction of a plant in their neighborhoods, according to a government survey.

The public opinion poll showed 50 percent of the 3,972 people asked said they preferred to see nuclear power further developed, 15 percent favored an end to nuclear development, and 35 percent expressed no opinion.



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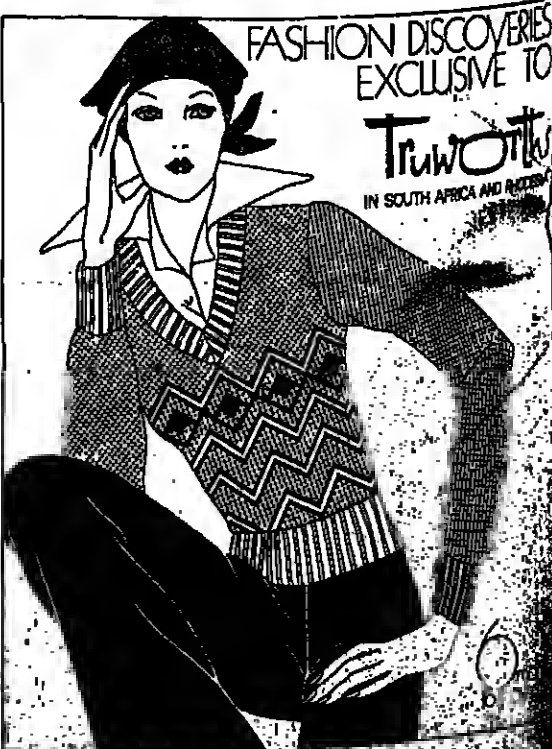
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Latin America

Cuba, U.S. talks: more than fish on conference table

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Behind the current Cuba-United States talks on overlapping fishing jurisdictions is a mutual determination to end 18 years of friction and hostility.

Both Cuba and the U.S. appear ready, in effect, to bury their hatchets — and engage in meaningful talks over a wide range of issues.

The overlapping fishing jurisdictions is only one of these issues and perhaps the easiest to resolve. General practice in disputes of this sort is to draw a line of demarcation roughly midway between the coasts of the two nations.

It will not be as easy to resolve other issues: a resumption of the loose anti-hacking accord which Cuban President Fidel Castro abrogated last year; the resumption of trade between Cuba and the U.S.; compensation for seized U.S. property in Cuba; the future of the U.S. Guantanamo naval base on Cuba's south coast; and dozens of long-lapsed accords such as air landing rights in each other's country.

There are other indications of this attitude: • A South Dakota basketball team just flew to Cuba for exhibition competition with Cuba's all-star basketball team. Some observers are hailing the competition as the Cuban-U.S. version of the Chinese-U.S. "ping-pong diplomacy" that preceded the opening of Peking-Washington relations.

Indeed, Washington is trying to play down the speculation of Cuban involvement in the shadowy invasion of Zaire by Katangan rebels. Cuba denies involvement, and Washington says it has no evidence of a Cuban presence in Zaire, sidestepping the question of whether Cubans helped train the rebels.

Obviously, Washington despite qualms does not want to upset the current talks. There are other indications of this attitude: • A South Dakota basketball team just flew to Cuba for exhibition competition with Cuba's all-star basketball team. Some observers are hailing the competition as the Cuban-U.S. version of the Chinese-U.S. "ping-pong diplomacy" that preceded the opening of Peking-Washington relations.

It was a year ago that Argentina's military deposed South America's first woman president and inherited control of a politically and economically bankrupt nation seriously torn apart by urban and rural terrorism.

Now, after a sometimes turbulent year in office, the generals and admirals running the country have:

• Brought inflation down from 54 percent a month to a still too-high figure of 10 percent a month, checked the 15 percent annual decline in the gross national product with a forecast 4.5 percent growth rate for 1977, and completely turned around the balance-of-payments deficit with a \$1.2 billion surplus at the end of 1976.

• Made significant inroads on terrorism by a heavyhanded military-police effort that has largely eliminated the leadership of both the

Exército Revolucionario del Pueblo and the Montoneros, the two leading guerrilla groups, decimated ranks of the both groups, and reduced both to carrying out fewer, but still troublesome and spectacular, acts of violence such as bomb blasts in military offices.

For the average Argentine wage-earner, the evident economic turnaround has not been a boon. He faces staggering decline in his purchasing power because of still wage increase restraints and he has little more than promises of a brighter future. That better day may yet come, but he doesn't see it in his pay envelope.

And for all Argentines, the tough nonguerrilla stance of the military has led to a serious erosion of human rights. The military, insisting that the terrorists were the real violators of human rights, admits that there have been abuses of rights in the crackdown on the terrorists, but suggests they are necessary.

All this has provoked a wide-ranging worldwide condemnation of the military headed by Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla.

Two weeks ago, both Amnesty International, an international rights organization, and Argentina's Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, issued reports sharply critical of the Videla government.

Amnesty International said 5,000 to 6,000 people are being held as political prisoners and that torture and summary executions are widespread under Argentina's "state of siege." It also claimed that between 2,000 and 5,000 Argentines have disappeared in the wake of the March 24, 1976, coup that brought the military to power.

That coup ended Maria Estela Martinez de Peron's 20 months as Argentina's and Latin America's first woman president.

The coup had a good deal of begrudging support from Argentines of many political stripes. The political chaos and economic decline that grew rapidly during Mrs. Peron's presidency argued persuasively for a military takeover.

But this support is not as strong today as it was a year ago. Indeed, the "honeymoon is over," as a top Argentine official recently admitted.

Human rights dispute grows

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Under the current Foreign Assistance Act, which President Ford signed June 30, 1976, the Department of State must submit to Congress a report on human rights in each of the 80 or so countries receiving U.S. aid.

It was that portion of the report dealing with Brazil, passed along as a "diplomatic courtesy" to Brazilian officials by the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia, that prompted the Brazilian rejection of U.S. military help.

The administration says it was prepared for the storm of protest, and while U.S. officials explain the law under which the human rights report is written, they are making clear also that President Carter feels strongly on the issue. They are telling hemisphere leaders he is committed to a staunch advocacy of human rights everywhere.

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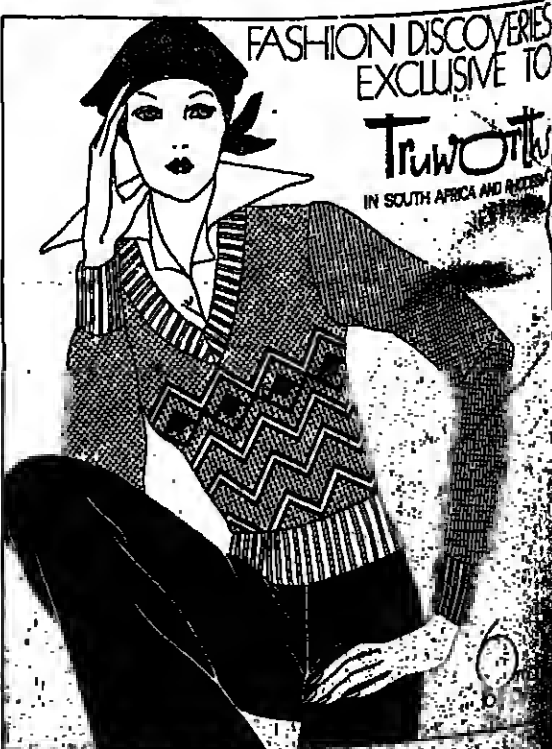
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Soviet Union

Vance and Brezhnev on arms: What they say and what they mean

By Daniel Southerland and David K. Willis
Staff correspondents of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow — As the first formal Carter-Kremlin dialogue opened here under a gray and rainy Moscow sky, the United States was trying to focus attention on the need to stop improving the quality of strategic arms as well as to limit their numbers.

Even if the current talks succeed in setting a framework for a new strategic arms agreement (SALT II) which limits numbers, the way could still be open for continued growth in the destructive power of those that remain.

Hence the Carter effort to convince Soviet leaders that both quality and numbers need to be tackled together, according to sources here.

But Soviet watchers here expected the Carter thrust to meet with little success — at least for the moment.

The Soviet approach has been a conservative one. It has concentrated on numbers. It leaves aside explicit talks on limiting quality until later.

The American hope is that U.S. superiority in technology can act as leverage on the Soviet side.

Both sides opened the crucial talks March 28 by restating their known positions on strategic arms. The atmosphere was apparently blunt and straightforward. U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance later described the mood as "businesslike."

The official Soviet news agency Tass adopted a cool tone, calling the talks "a conversation" without any of the usual descriptive phrases. Omission of the phrases, analysts said, indicated tension.

One diplomat said: "It's too soon to tell." He nodded when asked if the tone of the talks was blunt. Both sides appeared to be stating their maximum bargaining positions first. Mr. Vance put forward a proposal for deep cuts in strategic arms plus limits on improving the quality of weapons.

The Soviets responded with their less am-

bilious January, 1976, proposal, which would include limits on American long-range cruise missiles, Mr. Vance said.

The Soviets do appear very worried by the proved American ability to leap ahead technologically (as it did by developing the MIRV, the cluster of separately-targeted warheads which sit on top of rocket launchers).

The Kremlin way of dealing with this kind of leap so far is to insist on numerical limits. It takes this approach on the American cruise missile also — the product of skillful miniaturization and advanced techniques in which the Americans are up to 10 years ahead, and which now allow hedge-hopping, super-accuracy, and vast range.

But the Soviets have not so far appeared ready for a detailed discussion of agreeing to limit such refinements — partly because they are rushing so fast to produce their own MIRVs and other weapons.

The Soviets are developing mobile missiles to try to thwart U.S. MIRVs. These include the SS-20 and the SS-16 (which is actually the 20 with an extra fuel stage bolted on to give intercontinental range).

And the Soviets also know that on U.S. drawing boards is the MX missile, designed to be launched from any point along a trench that could extend for many miles, or from a pad covered by a shelter identical in appearance to a cluster of "dummy" shelters around it. Also planned is a new version of MIRV, known as MARV (maneuverable re-entry vehicle).

The U.S. aide recognizes that Mr. Brezhnev may simply not be ready to discuss anything else but numbers here. The Soviets have said repeatedly that they want Mr. Carter and Mr. Vance to stick to the Vladivostok agreement, and leave other matters until later.

But American officials also hope by raising the issue of quality here, they can prod the Soviets into thinking about it earlier than they might otherwise.

Meanwhile, these appeared to be other key SALT issues that need to be resolved here:

- Whether the U.S. can get the Soviets to



Jaunty Soviet Army men — but a blunter mood for Vance in Kiev

agree to reducing the 2,400 Vladivostok limit by offering to return some restrictions on the range of cruise missiles launched from submarines.

- How to verify whether a cruise missile is in fact being carried in a bomber or in submarine torpedo tubes, and whether the missiles being carried are long range or not. Surveillance satellites so far used by both sides to monitor the existing SALT I accord are unable to make such judgments, experts say. (U.S. cruise missiles are about two feet across and some 20 feet long, according to U.S. technical publications.)

- Deciding how much of a threat is posed by the Soviet Backfire bomber. The Soviets dismiss it as a medium-range aircraft for use against European or Chinese targets. The Pentagon says it could bomb the U.S. on a one-way

flight to Cuba. The Pentagon worries where it can be based and how to fuel it in midair.

Another U.S. argument heard here: the smaller the ceiling on strategic arms, the more important the role comes as a backup or auxiliary weapon with strategic potential. Hence the limit the Backfire now.

Mr. Carter has suggested leading a fire off the current agenda as well.

If the Soviets hold firm to their position, then the U.S. will be forced to reject of both their main SALT packages deep cuts plus a curb on the quality of weapons — and also a "no" to its failed Vladivostok limits now, excluding the Backfire.

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South Africa

An ill-defined policy

Black-owned houses: legal but not likely

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg — More housing for blacks — that was to be the solution which would diffuse South Africa's race crisis.

The argument went like this: If a man could own his own house, he would have something to protect and would not want a revolution.

Now, eight months after the rioting began in the black township of Soweto, what has been done about housing for blacks?

"The government, she is fooling the people," was a comment on the situation by a cleaning woman in this reporter's building.

Government policy on black housing has been so ill-defined that even people who should know what is happening — loan companies, while employers who want to help blacks buy houses, black advice bureaus — do not.

At the crux of the matter is the fact that blacks are not allowed to own any land in the townships. Thus the government can at any time take away a black's house.

The government has backed down in the past few years on several housing issues.

In 1968 blacks could only rent houses, not buy them. Then in 1975 blacks were allowed to "own" houses on 30-year leases — but they had to take out citizenship in tribal homelands, which were often far from the place where they lived. In August, 1976, the citizenship re-

striction was dropped and the government said blacks could now own houses "in perpetuity." But the term "in perpetuity" has no legal standing as far as granting loans to blacks is concerned.

No loan company would grant a loan to a black for a house owned "in perpetuity."

However, the Natal Building Society has granted a one million rand (\$1.5 million) loan to the Bantu Administration Boards, which in turn will loan money to the blacks.

This still leaves major drawbacks. Blacks distrust the administration boards and do not want to deal with them. And there is still no guarantee that the houses will not be taken away by the boards.

K. H. Loney of the Natal Building Society said, "Unless the government goes bankrupt our loan is secure."

But the Natal Building Society is criticized by others, who say that its approach will not lead to freehold land and home ownership for the blacks.

Land ownership is critical, so much so that if the government does not grant ownership, the battle for diffusing the race crisis will likely be lost.

The Urban Foundation, a group of South Africa's most influential businessmen, knows this and is pushing for black freehold rights.

But many analysts think the government will not grant blacks freehold rights for one simple reason. Freehold would remove a major brick



By Sven Simon

Black housing in Soweto — it can be 'bought,' but not the land under it

from the structure of apartheid under which blacks are conceived to be only temporary laborers in white areas of South Africa.

Public housing director Mathys Wilsnack says that when blacks poured into urban areas of South Africa after World War II there was an acute shunt problem. At that time mining companies loaned the government six million rand (\$6.0 million) for a crash home building program.

Mr. Wilsnack says, "No similar concerted effort now is required." But the township of Alexandra is in his area and much of its consists of desperate shums.

In Soweto, over 20,000 families are on waiting lists for houses; some on the list for seven years.

The average number of persons living in a Soweto house now is 17. The standard house is small, with three rooms, a kitchen, and an outdoor toilet.

He says there are 50,000 houses for sale now in Soweto. But these are occupied by renting tenants.

This sort of contradiction has led many blacks to abandon hope of home ownership.

Still, there are groups of patient people who hope the government will act. One such is the Soweto Home Improvement Action Group (SHIAG). SHIAG has done four years of research into improving black homes and has come close to getting government approval for a pilot demonstration project. But the government backs off.

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New hurdles for Smith's internal settlement

By Michael Haiman
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

In what may mark a serious setback to attempts to bring about a settlement between Rhodesia's governing minority of 270,000 whites and the country's 6.4 million blacks, Prime Minister Ian Smith and African National Council (ANC) leader Bishop Abel Muzorewa now appear sharply divided over the purpose of a referendum to establish a majority leader.

Bishop Muzorewa, generally regarded as the most popular and most moderate of nationalist leaders, set out a five-point plan "to complete the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe" (the name African nationalists give to Rhodesia). It opens with a call for Mr. Smith to "categorically and unequivocally surrender political power and authority to the black majority immediately" following a referendum.

But answering questions at an airport press conference before leaving on a South African vacation, in the course of which he is expected to have talks with South African Premier John Vorster and British Foreign Secretary David Owen, Mr. Smith described a referendum on that basis as a "non-starter."

The only hopeful note was that Mr. Smith added that his government is "sympathetic" to an exercise that would produce the leader of black opinion in Rhodesia.

Nevertheless, what could be a serious disagreement between the two essential parties to any settlement comes shortly before Dr. Owen is due to visit southern Africa for talks about the Rhodesia dispute with African "front-line" presidents, South African Premier John Vorster, and possibly Mr. Smith himself.

The referendum suggestion was first proposed by Bishop Muzorewa at the unsuccessful Geneva conference on Rhodesia last year as a method of ensuring a representative interim government prior to a majority rule. It has since been seen as an integral part of renewed Western efforts to bring Mr. Smith and black leaders back to the conference table.

Should the conflict between Mr. Smith's and the bishop's interpretations of the referendum be as serious as it appears, it will prejudice the success of Dr. Owen's visit. All this takes place against the background of intense Soviet interest in the problem, marked by the current visit to Africa of Cuban leader Fidel Castro and Soviet President Nikolai Podgorniy.

The bishop, who returned to Salisbury March 24 after an eight-week tour of Europe and Africa, told a 5,000-strong ANC National Consultative Assembly meeting in a Salisbury football stadium March 27 that "the only proof of Mr. Smith's sincerity about majority rule is that he hand over power to the majority through the exercise of one man, one vote."

The bishop went on to call for: "A national



Muzorewa: five-point plan to 'complete liberation struggle'

referendum to elect a leader to whom Mr. Smith must hand over power. Following the precedent set by the Pearce commission in 1972 (when a British team led by Lord Pearce assessed African reaction to settlement proposals agreed to between the British and Rhodesian Governments) Britain must organize the exercise and ensure that there is free political activity throughout the country.

"All persons in political detention, and in so-called 'protected villages' (into which more than 250,000 tribe members have been moved in an effort to isolate them from nationalist

guerrillas) must be released and participate in the referendum.

"Facilities must be provided for guerrillas, wherever they may be, to them to take part.

"As soon as possible thereafter, the Government convenes a full constituent conference to work out and finalize the independence constitution."

"Failure to carry out this plan will continue and unabating bloodshed, as that has cost more than 4,000 lives since, 1972, the bishop told the assembly."

Africa

Sadat wants 'lots of weapons' from the United States

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Mixed military and political motives will impel Egyptian President Sadat to request U.S. arms when he visits Washington April 4, and many of them concern his Soviet-armed neighbor Libya as much as they do Israel, in the opinion of Mideast military experts.

Mr. Sadat told CBS News in an interview broadcast March 27 that he would ask U.S. President Carter for "lots" of Northrop F-5 fighter aircraft and TOW anti-tank missiles. The F-5 is a subsonic plane sold to Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and many other African and Asian states. It is no match in combat for sophisticated U.S. and home-manufactured Israeli planes like the F-14 or the Kfir C-2, but would be useful in a ground-support role in desert warfare with an adversary like Libya.

TOW missiles have also been sold to several Arab countries as well as to Israel.

Sale of items like F-5's and TOWs would be regarded in Egypt and elsewhere as a political gesture proving the U.S. was interested in helping Egypt's armed forces recover from alleged neglect by its former Soviet suppliers, and could provide the first beginnings of a "retooling" of the Egyptian forces along U.S. lines. (Some 38 French Mirage 3 fighter-bombers and around 50 French and British helicopters have been delivered, and about 200 French Mirage F-1 fighter-bombers are on order from France or for co-production in Egypt.)

However, Mideast military experts believe there are many other items Mr. Sadat and his Defense Minister, Gen. Abdel Ghani al-Gamasy would like to try to purchase on easy credit terms from the U.S. — if President Carter approves — to confront the Soviet-supplied arsenal being bought with petrodollars by Li-

byan leader Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi, Mr. Sadat's militant neighbor.

Though Egypt lacks petrodollars, Saudi Arabia has already financed arms purchases for Jordan and Syria and has put up the lion's share of more than \$1 billion for the Arab Military Industrial Organization (AMIO), an Egypt-based arms industry employing French and British technology.

Egypt is already training air crews on the 10 Lockheed Hercules C-130 military transport authorized for sale by the U.S. Congress and Defense Department last year. But so far neither the Ford nor the Carter administrations are known to have authorized other military sales, despite several "window-shopping" trips to the U.S. by Egyptian military missions and the hopeful activity of some U.S. arms salesmen and consultants in Cairo.

One example was reported talks last year with the U.S. firm of Litton Industries for fil-

ling weapons-guidance systems to some of Egypt's Soviet-supplied MIG-21 aircraft.

Several U.S. firms have shown interest in small-arms and ordnance supplies for Egypt and possibly in building plants for these or larger units in the country.

For several months, Israeli sources have been telling Western newsmen that Soviet supplies, despite Mr. Sadat's protests to the contrary, have been flowing regularly to Egypt's armed forces since 1975. The Israelis say these include new MIG-21 fighters and about 50 new MIG-23s, anti-aircraft missiles, new T-82 tanks, and tank engines as well as other spare parts. The same Israeli reports contradict Western sources who say Soviet arms supplies to Syria have all but halted and that the Syrian port of Tartous is no longer available to Soviet naval units.

The Israeli reports say the Soviets are actually making increasing use of Tartous though they are not using Latakia, Syria's main port.

Educating South African whites on racial issues

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

More people here are perceiving the urgent need to educate white South Africans to black/white issues.

For — many whites are arguing — unless whites can see the problems they face, they will not move to solve them.

The South African Institute of Race Relations is to launch a program soon that promises to be one of the best recent attempts by whites to take an honest look at their society.

The institute plans to make four or five short films illustrating aspects of South Africa's race problems. It hopes the films may be run on television, which is government controlled, as well as being used at symposia and seminars.

In addition, the institute aims to bring together groups of people of all races.

"Whites do not know the grievances of the black," said Fred Van Wyk, director of the institute. "Ideally, it should be a black person who tells them," he added.

More pamphlets in prospect

The institute also wants to increase its publication of pamphlets about such things as how to get a lawyer, the perils of buying on credit, how to understand domestic (servants). "There is such a demand for these," Mr. Van Wyk said.

He estimates that each film will cost about \$20,000. "We could do with 500,000 rand [about \$500,000] for this scheme," he said.

The Institute of Race Relations, which has a deeper understanding of and more genuine contacts with blacks than do many organizations here, receives financial help from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. But this project, which was suggested by Durban's Anglican Archbishop Denis E. Hurley, will need more funds.

The climate is ripe for educating whites, as the demands on the time and knowledge of the institute's secretary for the Transvaal region, the Periman, indicate.

Requests pour in

Mrs. Periman has been bombarded with requests for information and guidance from white groups such as the Urban Foundation and the Women for Peace. These groups have been formed because of the confusion raised in white thinking by the riots in black townships last year. The institute, in contrast, has existed for 48 years.

Mrs. Periman humbly down-plays her knowledge of what is happening in black communities. But she is one of the most informed whites in Johannesburg.

The institute's education project for whites is a positive drop in a very big bucket of ignorance across the color line.

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India

New government opts for 'genuine nonalignment'

By Mohan Ramo
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor



Jatti — a message from Desai

New Delhi
The new government of India has given itself a deadline of less than a year to restore to the country the balance between the people and Parliament and between Parliament and the judiciary.

At the same time, it has gone on record as pledging to honor all foreign policy commitments of the government it replaced, including the 20-year treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union. But it stresses that its chief foreign policy objective will be "genuine non-alignment" and that the special relationship implicit in the Indian-Soviet pact no longer will be a cornerstone.

In a major policy statement read to the opening session of the new Parliament by acting President B. D. Jatti on behalf of Prime Minister Morarji Desai, the government promised "a comprehensive measure" to amend the Constitution "during the course of the year."

Mr. Desai's speech said "The most fundamental task is to remove... curbs on the fundamental freedoms and civil rights of the people, to restore the rule of law and the right of free expression to the press."

The outgoing government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi itself lifted the state of internal emergency that had been in force for 20½ months and which gave rise to the authoritarian tendencies rejected by the voters at the March 16-20 elections. This served to restore the right of the people to move in the courts for protection of their fundamental liberties, to lift press censorship, and to free all remaining political detainees.

But when the Constitution was amended by Parliament last November, certain features of the emergency were institutionalized. It is this machinery that the three-day-old Desai government is pledged to dismantle.

The Desai administration's economic policy is yet to be spelled out, but the speech to Par-

liament indicated that special attention is to be paid to farming and to "Maximizing employment." The main campaign promise of the Desai-led Janata Party was "liberty and bread, plus work for all in 10 years."

The government already has lifted the state of external emergency declared in 1971 and in force when Mrs. Gandhi clamped down the federal one in June, 1975. This move is seen here mainly as a symbolic gesture suggesting a relaxed attitude toward neighboring China and Pakistan, with whom India has been seeking improved relations since last year.

Mrs. Gandhi's government succeeded in restoring diplomatic relations with both countries but had resisted ending the external emergency.

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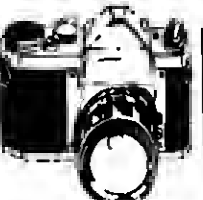
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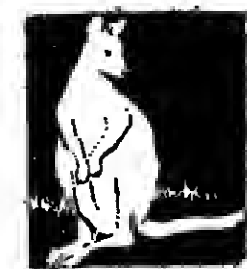
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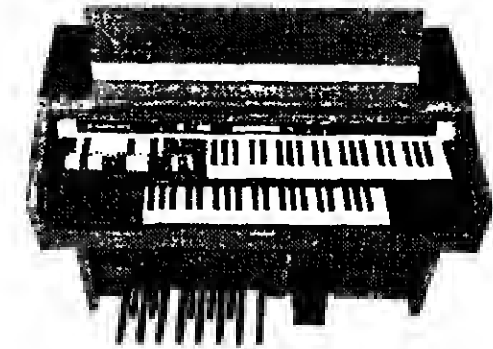
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New Zealand seeks fishing limit

By Alastair Carthew
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
Wellington, N.Z.

Little New Zealand is preparing to declare a 200-mile fishing zone off its coastline, although it lacks the facilities to fully exploit the zone itself and is ill-prepared to patrol it against countries that can.

To further complicate the picture, the move is being made in cooperation with the still smaller South Pacific island countries that are New Zealand's neighbors, at least one of which has been approached by the Russians on the possibility of setting up a fishing base there.

New Zealand is surrounded by a vast area of untapped fishing riches — almost 1.5 million square nautical miles — which would be the fourth-largest zone in the world.

But the fishing industry here is small and generally inefficient. There are few large boats to exploit the rich fishing ground, even within the present 12-mile limit. Thus, other countries such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and the Soviet Union regularly reap large catches from just outside the limit.

Until now, this country has waited for the

UN Law of the Sea Conference to resolve the 200-mile-zone issue. But if the next session of the conference in New York in May fails to do that, informed sources here say, the government of Prime Minister Robert Muldoon will move in August.

The Muldoon government has been concerned for more than a year over the Soviet interest in establishing a fishing base on the island kingdom of Tonga. As a consequence, there has been an increasing emphasis here on helping the island countries to establish industries that would prop up their waning economies and keep their workera at home.

Mr. Muldoon sought and won agreement from the island leaders that a move to 200-mile zones should be concerted, a tactic that observers say obviously was based on the theory of strength in numbers, which would forestall attempts by outsiders to "pick off" the smaller islands one by one.

In fact, the zones of the island countries would almost interlock with New Zealand's, leaving, in the words of one observer, "a lot of ocean that Northern Hemisphere countries must seek permission to fish."

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By Takaahl Oka
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

El Beshiry, Sudan
Tall and erect, in spotless white jellabs, Kajaminar Elissa, the village chief, tells the story of this oasis that has been saved from encroachment by the desert:
"You see that ridge over there, behind our houses?"
He asks, pointing to a long ridge crowned with trees.
"Seven years ago that ridge was a plain sand dune . . . no trees, no grass."

The dune hung menacingly over the village like a curling wave, ready to overwhelm its inhabitants at any moment. The people tried to stop it by building their houses up against it, to no avail. Sand broke through their flimsy walls and forced them to withdraw to a second line of defense nearer their precious wells.

In his youth, the chief said, the dune was only a slight incline, and he had fields beyond it which he cultivated. But as livestock grew, and cultivated fields, too, the soil, always poor, eroded. Grasses that once naturally seeded

the dunes and sprung up during the three months' rainy season no longer came. Sand increased to the point that his fields became barren. And the dune grew and grew.

Then, in 1968, after the military revolution that brought President Jaafar al-Nimeiry to power, the government came to the villagers with a proposal: the only way to tackle the dune was to enclose it with barbed wire, and then seed it with grass, tough bushes, and trees that would "fix" the sand and turn it into grazable pasture once more.

The government would provide the barbed wire, essential to keep goats and camels out once the grass had started to sprout. Would the villagers help with the labor? And most important, would they agree among themselves that the 550 acres to be enclosed would not be grazed by their animals?

Long arguments took place

There was long argument among the 500 heads of families in the village. Some mistrusted the government, others were unhappy at the prospect of losing the right

to graze the few sticks and stumps that still survived in this desolate landscape.

But Mr. Elissa, who had seen at firsthand what the encroaching sands could do to field and pasture, finally persuaded his fellow house-holders. The work was begun, helped by 80 students who came not only from Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, but from as far away as Libya and Algeria — countries which also were suffering from "desert creep."

Today the dune, though scarcely luxurious pasture-land, is stable. Neat rows of sturdy leptadenia pyrotechnica, brushy and fire-resistant, have fixed the sand. Grass has sprouted, and tough trees of the spiky acacia family have been planted.

The fence needs constant tending, and an occasional camel or goat has gotten in, but the villagers have themselves set up a system of fines to punish the guilty party. The total cost of the project over the past six years has been 40,000 Sudanese pounds or about \$100,000.

"We used to have many more people in our oasis,"

he said. "But as the sand invaded us, some of us had to go off and find work in larger towns, or even in Egypt. Now, with this dune fixed, we have started to move back to the dune on the other side of the village. And we are once more surrounded by green, as we used to be. I hope our exiles will come back."

Pages around El Beshiry, seeing the success of the project here, have been clamoring for projects to be started in their areas. For dozens of oases in the region threatened by "desert creep." Dune after dune has formed, drifting across fields of wheat and sorghum, forcing goats and camels to go farther and farther in search of fodder.

Light or human impact?

Is the result of climatic changes, or the greed of those who took place between 1968 and 1973? Or is the culprit, with overfarming and overgrazing?

Experts disagree. But one thing is certain: whatever the weather may have wrought, man bears a share of blame. And the Sudanese government's attitude is that Allah alone controls the weather, man can at best change those things that he has done wrong.

"Desert creep," says Wadieh Habashi emphatically, "is the result of ruthless human action, and needs human action to contain it." Mr. Habashi, former minister of culture, is president of the National Council of which this is the reasoning and every largely because a three-year program of battling desert encroachment that the Sudanese government has devised and it will put to a meeting of prospective donors in

the program is modest: it would cost \$20 million, of which it is hoped foreign donors will contribute \$15 million. The money will finance five regional centers to do demonstrations, technical assistance, seed, and other materials for what will be essentially a self-program.

It is not only sedentary dwellers in oases that are affected by desert creep. Nomads and semi-nomads, whose wanderings may range from a thousand-mile circuit in the course of one year to a couple of hundred miles out into the green-springing desert during the wet season, also are finding that they must roam farther before in search of fodder, that they must ask security ruffians to share their land and their pasture. A situation that inevitably leads to conflict. During great drought of 1968 to 1973 many had to forsake nomadism temporarily to take up jobs in town, only to go back to their camels when the situation eased.

Governments don't like nomads, because they are difficult to keep track of, to collect taxes from, to get children to go to school," says a Sudanese social scientist who has studied nomadism for years and who offers an intelligent response to the climatic and local conditions of deserts and semi-arid areas. Or, as the government official said, "They are marvelous people, but they aren't modern."

Local market scene

For hours by Card Rover west of El Beshiry lies the town of Mazroub, where a famous open-air livestock market attracts nomads and dealers from far and wide. Early on a Monday morning, the area around the well was a scene of dusty hustle and bustle such as the Old Testament prophets might have gazed out at. Cattle, sheep, and goats flicked their tails or stood quietly in the already hot sun, awaiting their turn at the watered. Straight-backed elders made their morn-ings on donkeys, their feet trailing nearly to the ground.

Abd Majid Youssef, a chief of the nomadic Maganin tribe, described his people as he stood by the well, where a camel was being chained and bucket brought up the water simply hanging away from the well.

Abd Majid's cousin, he said, moved as far north as

the Wadi Howar, 400 miles to the north, an area of only 75 millimeters of rainfall annually, where in winter they fed their flocks on gizzu, a succulent nitrogen-rich grass available at no other time of year. When the rains came, they moved a couple of hundred miles south to the mountains of northern Kordofan, continuing on down to Mazroub, where they usually spent a month before repeating the cycle.

At each stage of their journey, their grazing rights were well defined, and so long as the rains came in time there was no friction with other tribes. The Maganin were herders of camel, sheep, and goats, the landscape in which they moved was too harsh for cattle.

To the south of them, where rainfall was plentiful, the Baggara were expert cattleherders and carried on a shorter, 200-mile annual cycle. The Baggara spent the three-month rainy season south of Mazroub, in winter to them would be the dry north, waiting for the water-logged Bahr al-Arab area to dry out. Then, when lush green grass filled their homelands and the flies and insects of the rainy season were gone, they brought their cattle back down south.

Each of these people, the Maganin in the north, the Baggara in the south, moved their animals up and down on a front sometimes a kilometer wide. Normally, the two never met; the Baggara's northernmost limits were well south of the Maganin's southernmost limits.

Ranges began to overlap

But during the drought of 1968-73, and after, when grazing became progressively poorer in the north, the Maganin strayed further and farther south, invading both cultivated lands and areas the Baggara had considered their domain. There were, of course, conflicts. More seriously, since cattle are browsers eating only grass, while camels and goats graze on bushes and tree leaves, by the time both the Baggara and the Maganin had passed through an area, there was nothing left to grow the next year.

The eroded land quickly deteriorated. With no grasses or bushes to hold the soil, the invading sands blew across from the ever-present desert to the south.

A basic problem, which Abd Majid would not admit, but which government experts are well aware of, is that the nomads, whether Maganin camel herders or Baggara cattlemen, simply have too much livestock.

A nomad's wealth is in his herds. He has little to do with a money economy, and will sell a cow or a camel only to meet an actual or imagined need.

He might buy a transistor radio for his own use. It would be difficult to persuade him, unless he became a townsman, to buy a share in the ubiquitous trucks that rattle and bump from oasis to oasis and on to Khartoum, ferrying everything from gum arabic to live cattle and pickup trucks.

And yet the numbers of livestock now are so great that the range will no longer support them. The answer can only be more conflict, unless the nomads are persuaded periodically to sell cattle, sheep, and goats in quantity, as commercial livestockmen in other countries do.

Dr. Bill Payne, a United Nations development program livestock expert from Gloucestershire, England, has a novel idea to encourage this seasonal offtake of livestock. Suppose, he says, the government were to set up a kind of livestock bank in a center like Mazroub where nomads congregate.

A nomad with, say, 1,000 camels might then be persuaded to "bank" 200 of them. The bank would dispose of them at commercial rates. One camel currently

fetches about 200 Sudanese pounds, or about \$500. So an owner of 1,000 camels is a wealthy man by any standards.

Camels left 'in the bank'

The bank would give the owner certificates entitling him either to cash or to camels whenever he wanted. The camel owner could set off on his long trek to the Wadi Howar, secure in the knowledge that he still had the equivalent of 200 camels in the bank, and that, should drought or disease strike down any of his livestock on the hoof, the bank always would be ready to replace them.

Dr. Payne, who has taught livestock management all over the world, from the Fiji Islands to the University of Florida, has tried out his idea here and there and found the response mildly encouraging. He admits that his might not be the only solution.

The World Bank has a more grandiose plan to build slaughterhouses in provincial centers and to transport meat thence to Khartoum and world markets in refrigerated cars.

Whatever the ultimate solution, Dr. Payne is convinced that it must be one that fits in with the nomad's life pattern, one whose advantage the nomad himself will recognize. For Dr. Payne has great respect for the nomad and his way of life.

An area of 75 millimeters' rainfall is useless to man for any kind of cultivation. Only a nomad with his flocks at the right time in the right area can make full use of it. So long as he keeps his livestock within limits that the desert ecosystem will tolerate, he is making the most intelligent and productive use of the resources nature provides.

Night descends suddenly in the desert. At one moment the great red sun seems barely to be touching the horizon. The next instant there is only a pink afterglow, and stars start to fill the sky.

Under it, in the open air, Abd Majid's young men are rounding the deep-throated "jarar," a dance in which women wrapped in lengths of gauzy cloth sway in rhythmic undulating movements while their menfolk stamp around them with staves held high.

"No, we will not be townsfolk," said one of the dancers watching the dance. "If we lose our camels, we will come to town and take what work we can, until we have saved up enough to buy our animals back. You cannot deprive us of this — our herds, our stars, our song."



Typical Sudanese oasis town seen from the air.
Photos by Mark Evans

Halting the desert

The ultimate solution to the spread of deserts, to which this hungry planet loses arable land each year, must fit in with the life pattern of the dwellers on the desert's fringes and must offer advantages they can recognize. A Monitor correspondent goes to a Sudanese oasis village on the edge of the Sahara to report on such an effort that worked.



Nomadic mother and child

An opening to Russians at après-ski chess

By Larry Eldridge

Sports editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Cheset, U.S.S.R.
I can't speak their language, but I can play their game! So while visiting the Soviet Union I decided to see if I could beat a few Russians at their national pastime of chess — and sure enough I did.

I also learned that not all Russians consider Bobby Fischer an ogre or think former U.S.S.R. champion Viktor Korchnoi should be banished to outer Siberia for his recent defection to the Netherlands.

But we'll get to that. First, my introduction to the Soviets' legendary love of the Royal Game, which occurred early one snowy evening when our group arrived at a ski lodge in this Caucasus Mountain resort.

Passing through the lobby, I was immediately struck by the sight of several games in progress, each being watched intently by a half dozen or so spectators. Not exactly your typical après-ski gathering at any American or Western European resort, where one chess player is a rarity and two constitute a veritable army.

The next morning heading for breakfast, I saw the chess players at it again (or were they still continuing from the night before? One couldn't really tell). So when the weather looked bad and the skiing worse, I decided to try my own hand.

I added to a fellow onlooker when a board became open, and we sat down to play. My Russian is nonexistent and his English was limited, but I found out he was an "engineer" (everybody in the Soviet Union is an engineer) from Leningrad.

My next discovery was a pleasant one, for I quickly got the upper hand in the game and won in 17 moves. I guess I had sort of assumed that any Russian who played chess was automatically a whiz, but of course it's really just



like any other country, with players of all different strengths.

By now a crowd had gathered, and my victim was replaced by a stronger player, but he too went down to defeat. So one of the group said if I'd wait a minute they'd go get somebody who could provide proper competition.

If I had any sense, I'd have quit while I was ahead, but curiosity got the best of me, so I said: "Okay, bring on the iron." And they certainly did.

Opponent No. 3 (we'll call him Vladimir) turned out to be much stronger than his colleagues, and he promptly ended my perfect record against the U.S.S.R. When he repeated the process four or five times during the week, I eventually got the picture. And although these sessions may have bruised the old ego a bit, they certainly did open up plenty of doors in affording me an opportunity to know these Russians in a much more informal and relaxed atmosphere than I ever could have otherwise.

Mostly my new friends were interested in asking questions rather than answering them.

They had an insatiable thirst for knowledge about the ways of the West. Occasionally, though, I was able to turn things around and learn a little bit about their traditions too.

Vladimir (who also identified himself as an engineer) wanted to make sure right off the bat that I realized he and his friends came from the chess capital of the world. When he reeled off the names of the recent champions who came from Leningrad, it was hard to disagree. Mikhail Botvinnik, world champion almost continuously from 1948-66, grew up there; so did former world champion Boris Spassky (1968-72), current top contender Korchnoi, present world champion Anatoly Karpov, and many other masters and grandmasters. Add them all together, and certainly in the three decades since the end of World War II no other city is even in the running.

During the week I met another group of chess players — this one from Moscow. And again our common interest paved the way for friendship and understanding.

As friendly as I got with both groups, however, none of us ever forgot where we were. The Russians kept telling me that I could be certain I was being watched. And by night, I could not get any of them to make addresses with me for possible future correspondence.

Within these limitations, though, they were all exceptionally warm and friendly. And a few unguarded moments (or at times they could be relatively sure we were alone) got some insights into their thoughts.

"Hobby Fischer is perhaps the greatest player of all time — certainly he is the best now," Vladimir told me at one point.

And do many Russians feel this way about him?

"It is not the official position," he said, "but many good players feel this way — and even some not-so-good players like me."

What about the "Candidates" Matches progress to determine the next official world championship challenger? Whom does he favor?

"Korchnoi," he said. "But I don't want to publicize the fact."

Again I asked him if others shared his opinion. "As with Fischer, it is not the official position," he said. "The papers, of course, are against Korchnoi. But I think there are many people who would like to see him win."

The Muscovites I met seemed a little inclined to such radical views. They do not high on Fischer as a player, though, and his groups seemed surprised that most Americans are just as exasperated and baffled by his strange ways as they are.

Finally the week was over. The Russians went their respective ways back to Leningrad and Moscow, and I went mine. Now I got in much skiing, but we all learned to think, about life in general in our two countries. I also found a lot more chess players I could beat than I had expected — as well as quite a few that I couldn't.

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The Biafran war: an Ibo soldier remembers

After collapse, officer sought exile in Texas

By Richard L. Fricker
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Denton, Texas
Among those attending North Texas State University is a slightly built African with an almost boyish smile and a very correct British way of speaking. Celestine Eze Onukogu is a Nigerian. More specifically he's an Ibo and as such living in a self-imposed exile.

Mr. Onukogu's road to exile began Jan. 14th, 1970, when Maj. Gen. Philip Effiong, the chief of staff of secessionist Biafra, surrendered to his former Sandhurst classmate and Nigerian head of state Yekubu "Jack" Gowon, bringing to end a war which the world had watched with shifting sympathies and little understanding for a little over 30 months.

He speaks about Biafra, the war, and the Ibo only if asked. He seems surprised anyone would be interested in such things. A chief's son, Mr. Onukogu received a better-than-average education. He was commissioned into the militia as a lieutenant in 1967, when he was 18.

"Across the country there was a young man from every family in the army," he explains. "There was nobody from my family except my father who was a member of the constitutional assembly. School had been closed because of enemy bombing, and I had nothing to keep me busy. I felt it was time I did something for the country."

Fighting day-to-day

Mr. Onukogu says most Biafrans felt Nigerian forces could be kept outside the borders of the breakaway state. He says soldiers in the field were never really sure about the way the war was going. "You were fighting on a day-to-day basis."

The war ended for Mr. Onukogu on Oct. 27th, 1968, when he was shot in the leg and taken to a rear area for treatment. There he began to feel Biafra might lose. Recovering, he was

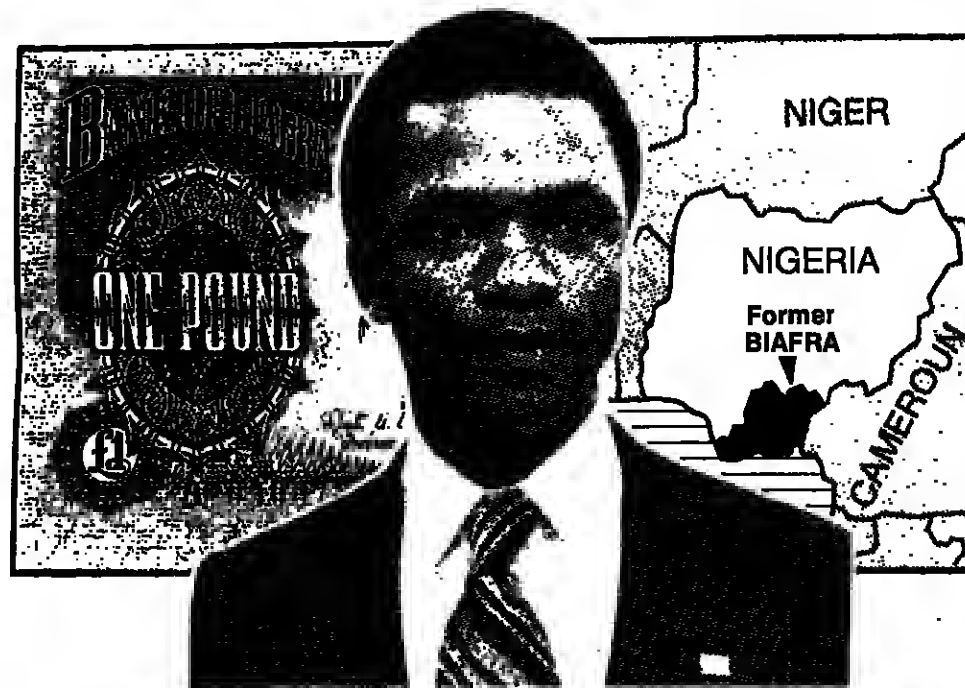


Photo by Les Hawley

Celestine Eze Onukogu: "I just didn't have enough guns and supplies"

able to enjoy the benefits of his rank — benefits he now feels hampered Biafra's cause.

Junior-officer life offered a freedom few young Ibo had known. "It was good, for one thing it was employment," Mr. Onukogu recalls. "You had money. I had lived off my family since I was a boy, and then I joined the army and began making my own money. It was thrilling." He explains that "most of the officer corps was comprised of people like me," students or young men seeking employment or a way to defend their lives and homeland.

"We had luxuries the public didn't have," he observes. "I had a vehicle, a driver, a batman or two, a weapon, and food. The average public at that time didn't have three meals a day."

This freedom corrupted the army, according to Mr. Onukogu. He says the soldiers "got too

committed and went out among the helpless population commandeering personal property in the name of the government." Disciplinary action was taken from time to time, but it was not very vigorous, he says.

Army grew corrupt

"They were not trained soldiers," he says, recalling his men. "They were just nationalists," and he adds that "the army got more corrupt than the civilians."

Mr. Onukogu ended the war as a captain. "I left Biafra that we did not realize our goal, which was to keep Biafra a nation and our fate in our hands." But the defeat does not seem to have affected him unduly. "I was not well equipped and was fighting a better equipped enemy. He was not more sophisticated, or better trained, or more determined. I just didn't have enough guns and supplies to fight as a soldier."

After the Biafran surrender Mr. Onukogu's brigade commander sent him to look for his families, and he disappeared behind enemy lines. Disguised as a civilian Red Cross worker for a month he lived with government troops. "Like our soldiers they were 'win the war' men and felt like conquerors," Mr. Onukogu remembers.

The war left the Ibo nation in ruins. Biafran currency was declared void. Even Biafran troops ran short of supplies and began eating remaining Ibo food stocks.

"Today the Ibo are making a rapid comeback," Mr. Onukogu explains that conquest aided their economic recovery. He points out that there was nothing left in Biafra except private possessions, so people came back and devastated areas selling goods. The Ibo, as businessmen, shrewdly cultivated their customer, the Nigerian Army.

'Soldiers had money'

"It was the practical thing to do," Mr. Onukogu says. "Soldiers had money. If you had marketable property you sold it."

He left Nigeria for the United States Jan. 1st, 1971. He has never returned home, not sure he ever will. On weekends he works as a hotel auditor while studying for a bachelor's degree.

Looking back on the war, he feels a "great lesson" for the Nigerian people. "It doesn't accomplish anything. Our people could have been solved without war. We had leaders who were bent on fighting, so we did."

Mr. Onukogu says it will be a long time before the Ibo, as a people, can enjoy full peace. "He notes, as did many journalists at the time, that the war against the Ibo took the appearance of genocide. He says it will be a very long time before there is a national unity among Nigerians."

As for himself he says: "I am not what I like to do, being a student. If I had not happened I would have been somewhere in life today. I am trying to put my through school, do my share, contribute to society. I consider Nigeria as my origin. I consider that I belong to the world."

Bombs and air crash spotlight Canaries problems

By Joe Gaudelman
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid
Problems are mounting for Spain's scenic Canary Islands — and the worst crash in civil aviation history is likely to make them worse. The March 27 crash of Jumbo KLM and Pan Am 747 jets in the Canaries, which killed more than 500 persons, may spell more trouble for the islands, which already pose an ominous breakaway threat to the Spanish Government.

According to Spanish press reports, an earlier bomb explosion at Gando airport in Las Palmas on the most important of the islands, caused various airlines to switch their flights to Los Rodeos on Tenerife, the second most important island, where the crash occurred. Responsibility for the bomb explosion was claimed by MPAIAC (Movement for the Self-determination and Independence of the Canary Archipelago). The movement is led by the extreme-left lawyer Antonio Cubillo, who has an anti-Spanish radio show beamed nightly to the Canaries from Algeria.

(Algerian relations with Spain have been strained ever since Spain acquiesced in the partition of the former Spanish colony of Spanish Sahara between Morocco — a power rival of Algeria's — and Mauritania. The territory is on the "shoulder" of Africa just southwest of the Canaries.)

Mr. Cubillo admits responsibility for the Las Palmas explosion, but insisted, "We do not consider ourselves responsible for the bad technical conditions Los Rodeos airport maintains. We all know the cause of the accident, and only can tell you that MPAIAC has no responsibility for it."

From page 1

*U.S. defense budget

The budget committee has simply gone its own merry way. It has flagrantly ignored the party leadership, two presidents, and the recommendations of four committees that specialize in these matters.

Chairman Robert N. Giacomini (D) of Connecticut, who led the fight for the cuts, charged that the Pentagon had overlooked at least seven significant areas for reduction.

"There's a strong feeling in the country and in the Congress" about defense spending, Mr. Giacomini says. "There's a great deal of money that can be removed from the budget without impinging on the U.S. defense posture."

Mr. Giacomini echoed other members of Congress who are concerned that, if the Pentagon doesn't reduce manpower costs and other overhead, the U.S. will be unable in coming years to match the Soviets in spending for things like planes, ships, and tanks.

So Mr. Giacomini suggested, and the committee approved, these reductions in budget authority:

1. Manpower: \$750 million. Quick savings are possible, Mr. Giacomini argues, by reducing military transfers and bringing about efficiencies in training procedures.

2. Purchases: \$1 billion. The White House is buying too quickly to stockpile ammunition and other items, say critics, who call for further studies.

3. Foreign military sales: \$500 million. President Carter is among those who have said the U.S. should cut sales.

4. Strategic stockpile: \$200 million. Reserves are too big, according to evidence provided by the Federal Preparedness Agency. Limited disposal could bring savings, Pentagon critics contend.

5. Financial adjustments: \$1 billion. Unspent balances in the Pentagon will reach \$82.4 billion by the end of the current fiscal year. This can be trimmed, the committee decided, by even more than the chairman recommended. They boosted the trim to \$1.3 billion.

6. Inflation account: \$400 million. Pentagon purchases next year were to include an allowance for inflation, but the committee knocked this out.

7. Other items: \$300 million. Included: trimming in overseas military assistance and in accumulation of nuclear warheads.



Vanka and Brezhnev

By Albert J. Forbes, staff artist

From page 1

*Détente and Brezhnev

Mr. Brezhnev promptly paid his own debts to them. But in time he, too, began to balk at their demands, which produced several clearly identifiable political struggles in the Kremlin. He won some, and he lost some.

It and when Mr. Brezhnev goes, the pattern of struggle — which is determined by certain constant factors of power in the Soviet bureaucratic system — will be much the same as in previous conflicts.

Even if the hard-liners should prove less successful than they have in the past in imposing their policies on the rest of the leadership, the period of instability and maneuvering in the Kremlin would limit the scope for foreign policy initiatives and negotiations. They always require concessions by both the Soviet Union and the United States, if any progress is to be made.

But a new leadership in the Kremlin, uncertain of its power, looking over its shoulders at the military and conservative factions, is hardly likely to be in a position to make any far-reaching concessions to foreigners. Its primary concern would be to consolidate its power, which would mean a series of concessions to domestic hard-liners and a period of immobility in foreign policy.

Stagnation of this kind, once it sets in, takes several years to overcome.

Neither Washington nor Moscow will make concessions in the strategic arms talks which

might detract from the security of either country. By now they both know that this is the one law of the strategic arms talks that will never be broken — yet they both keep trying to break it, at least at the beginning of every round of negotiation, by presenting proposals which are quite unacceptable to the other side.

Negotiations are also accompanied by the intensification of the hawk/dove struggle in each camp, where every contemplated concession brings forth the cry of "treason" from the hawks, while every hard-line demand causes the doves to fear that the negotiations are reaching the point of breakdown.

The reality is less dramatic. The SALT process is not in any danger of breaking down. But if it fails to regain momentum, the result could be just as bad. The resumption of the SALT negotiations could lead to real progress, only if both sides recognized that in each capital there are powerful forces which favor rapid and meaningful progress — and equally powerful forces which are opposed to it.

In Moscow, the hawks point to the U.S. military-industrial complex and the unreliability of capitalist politicians as a reason why the Soviet Union should strive for the highest possible degree of military security, rather than make the concessions which would make SALT a success. In Washington, the hawks maintain that the Soviet leadership is united in seeking military superiority over the West, that there is no such thing as a Soviet dove, and that any

concession to the Kremlin would simply weaken the United States.

Gen. Daniel Graham, the former head of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Pentagon's own intelligence branch, who was a leading member of "Team B" which disputed recently the CIA's more moderate conclusion about the nature of the Soviet threat, argues that all talk about hawks and doves in the Kremlin is "palpable nonsense." Any such notion, he believes, can be entertained only by those "ignorant" of the nature of the Soviet state. He warns that we cannot afford more blunders based on this kind of analysis, because "they could prove fatal."

It is, however, arguable that those who perceive some of the Kremlin's past power struggles in terms of hawks and doves — as does Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, who has spent a lifetime in the study of Soviet affairs — are not "ignorant" of the nature of the Soviet state. True, even White House advisers have been known to talk palpable nonsense. But, if the White House analysis of the Soviet leadership situation takes into account the hawk/dove relationship in the Kremlin, it may be able to avoid some of the blunders made by previous administrations — and succeed in getting a good SALT agreement with Mr. Brezhnev before he goes.

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From page 1

*Lesser powers

(1) That the United States would persuade

Israel to give up most of the territory taken from Egypt, Syria and Jordan during the 1967 war, and (2) that American economic aid to Egypt would come in sufficient quantity to solve Egypt's rampant economic problems.

Neither expectation has any basis in reality. Egypt's economic condition is at least as bad today as when Mr. Sadat made his switch from Moscow to Washington. Some observers think it is decidedly worse. And Israel shows no inclination yet to disgorge its spoils from the 1967 war.

If those two expectations continue to be unfulfilled throughout the entire year of 1977, Mr. Sadat's political mandate is likely to run out. The outlook is that he must deliver on his promises or be replaced. Would his successors, whoever they might be, be likely to continue to look to Washington? More probably they would again turn to Moscow in the hope of getting more from Moscow than Mr. Sadat had been able to get from Washington.

Most other prospective changes in alignment are less dramatic than those of India and Egypt, but still typical of this less rigid and less ideological world of today. The Carter administration is moving ahead with talks with Cuba. More talks seem likely between Americans and Vietnamese. Washington is aver-

trying to open a line of communication to Cambodia, so far without success. But much could change in Southeast Asia now, with India at least momentarily moving away from the Soviet Union towards the U.S.

The last previous important switch was when Egypt threw out Soviet military and political units and again. Several other switches seem to be in the making right now. The United States, increasingly disenchanted with Ethiopia's new military dictatorship, has cut off American aid to that country. Fidel Castro of Cuba has been through there talking up a possible Soviet connection to the present rulers. Ethiopia could swing to Moscow tomorrow — and a lot of people in Washington would be delighted to put that unattractive association on to Moscow's back.

But meanwhile Arabs friendly to the United States have been hard at work trying to bring Somalia and both North and South Yaman over to the American side of the big power street. Since Somalia and the two Yemens control the passage from the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea, Washington would gain an important military advantage from this change. The operation, being managed by Sudanese President Nimeiry, seems to be progressing promisingly.

However, in this new and more flexible world nothing is final about such associations.

It is pleasant indeed to have Egypt "on our side." For the moment at least it means that Moscow no longer enjoys use of a single naval base anywhere inside the Mediterranean. But the Western alignment of Egypt is based on two expectations which are in danger of being unfulfilled. President Sadat cut his ties to Moscow and came over to the American side on what he took to be two promises by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger:

Lighter cars urged

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

A team of researchers at the University of Texas Graduate School of Business has found that trimming the weight of U.S. cars to 2,500 pounds would save 1.1 million barrels of oil a day by 1981. Lighter cars would also reduce annual steel usage by 10 billion pounds a year, and aluminum by 522 million pounds annually.

The savings are considered significant in light of the fact that automobiles account for 28 percent — or 4.5 million barrels a day — of U.S. daily oil consumption.

Preserving England's not-so-stately homes

By Alan T. Baod
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Singleton, England
There is more to preserving Britain's past than the restoration of castles and ornate baronial estates. After all, not everyone lived in a grand manor.

That's why many country farmhouses and market halls are being preserved — lotac from original bricks to roof rafters — at the 45-acre Weald and Downland Open Air Museum here in Singleton, near Chichester, Sussex.

The open-air museum was founded by a group of conservationists who were concerned over the rate at which modest country dwell-

ings, classed as "vernacular architecture," were disappearing from the modern scene.

To qualify for admittance to the collection, a building must be in clear danger of being destroyed. Once it qualifies, its background is carefully established from local records and land deeds. Sketches are then made and photos taken of important structural details, such as the geometry of roof timbers.

After that the building is dismantled and each piece given an identification tag before it is transported by truck to a location on the museum grounds.

Then the meticulous, jig-saw-like task of rebuilding begins — a task requiring the expertise of master craftsmen.

The nonprofit museum, open year-round, was established in 1969, and eventually will have 40 buildings on view. A half-dozen full-time staff members are aided by some 200 volunteers.

Exhibits include Bayleaf Farmhouse, built originally on a site in Kent, England, around 1420, and said to be one of the finest examples of architecture remaining from that period.

Also here is the mid-18th-century Titchfield Market Hall. This particularly interesting Tudor specimen from Hampshire, is popular with visitors; the lower part of the building was used as a marketplace where crowds would mill around the stalls on weekly market days, while upstairs local council, or guilds of craftsmen, would meet to govern local community life.

A granary from 1731, a thatched barn with a date inscription on the roof rafters of 1771, a reconstructed 13th-century flint-rubble cottage, an 18th-century tollhouse complete with a well, preserved toll board stalling obages for various modes of transportation that passed its way are all on view at the museum.



15th-century farmhouse opens its doors to 20th-century visitors

Also of note is a reconstructed charcoal burner's camp, including the kiln, where you can see demonstrations of techniques used to produce charcoal in ancient times.

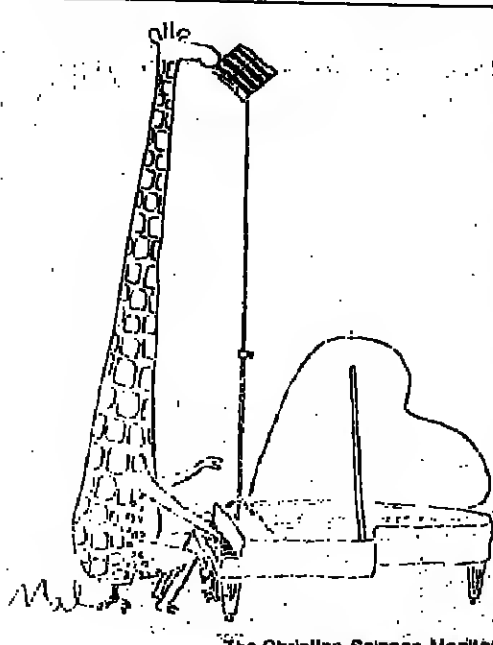
More than just a collection of architecture, the buildings present an insight into life-styles of the past.

Standing in the kitchen of a medieval village house, it is possible to imagine the aroma of hearty stew curling about the rafters as a black swinging pot hangs over an open fire in the middle of the floor. Well-worn steps leading up to a single bedroom (all of big families sleeping together for warmth in the winter, while downstairs, cows, chickens, and other

farmyard animals huddled on the earthen floor protected from the cold and wild animals outside.

But visitors need not depend on the past alone to re-create the past here. In addition to viewing the "unlabeled" museum on display, visitors can often watch craftsmen at the work of reassembling, piece by piece, with many of the same tools used by the builders.

Because of its spaciousness and comfort, the open-air exhibit presents a good opportunity for a day's outing into the countryside. You can even picnic on the museum's rambling meadowlands.



The Christian Science Monitor

financial

Servan-Schreiber again

New French financial daily in the works

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris The idea by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber to Jimmy Goldsmith of a 45 percent interest in the Paris Express publishing group gives France both a new possibility and a certainty. The possibility is that France will have a daily financial publication parallel to Britain's Financial Times, Germany's Handelsblatt, Denmark's Borsen, and New York's Wall Street Journal. An "economic daily" is an official objective of the new publishing combination.

The certainty is that Jimmy Goldsmith, a well-known business magnate with Anglo-French double nationality, has added an Anglo-French press section to his extensive collection of industrial-commercial-financial interests.

The facts surrounding the sale are ample enough.

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, a member of the French Parliament, is president of the regional council of Lorraine. He is also one of the leaders of what's left of the Radical Party. A few weeks ago he was assigned the task, by President Giscard d'Estaing, of evaluating the most needed reforms in France today.

Much of the present power of JJ-SS, as he is called, comes from his startling success in founding and developing a French news weekly — the Express. The publication has a present circulation of 550,000 and a group revenue, including the Jouva printing plant, Didot Boinin and Firmin Didot, of about \$35 million a year.

Jimmy Goldsmith is far more complicated. Less than 10 years ago he began combining and organizing French and British companies in startling conglomerations.

Mr. Goldsmith converted an old French company in 1970 into a kaleidoscopic holding company, Generale Occidentale. But now it embraces food processors, pharmaceutical houses, a bank, finance houses, and an insurance company.

Through Cavenham Company, it controls Generale Alimentaire which is comprised of many enterprises — one of them is Lipton Tea — that today in Europe only the two multinational giants, Unilever and Nestle, surpass it.

Generale Occidentale owns 51 percent of Cavenham, which owns 98 percent of Generale Alimentaire. The revenue of the group, in France, Britain, and nine other countries, including both the U.S. and South Africa, is estimated at more than \$3 billion per year.

France does have two economic difficulties, Les Echos, founded by another branch of the Servan-Schreiber family, and La Nouvelle Journal, a conservative evening paper. Both have circulations of about 30,000. Les Echos is read almost entirely by small-business men and Le Nouveau Journal by those interested in finance. There is still room for another.

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS HIGHLIGHTS

North Sea oil flowing

London By the end of 1977 Britain will be producing half of its domestic oil needs from the new North Sea fields. This is the prediction of Energy Secretary Wedgwood Benn. This will rank the British Isles in position No. 10 as a world oil producer.

"I hardly see a shocker in OPEC," he says, "but something that will make a substantial difference in Britain's near-future economy."

In the Feb. 21, 1977 edition, an article on the World Bank loan to Yugoslavia carried an incorrect headline: "World Bank to lend Albania \$6 million." The loan was intact to Yugoslavia to help finance development in the mainly Albanian-populated Yugoslav province of Kosovo.



Bolivia

Energy: 'A matter of life and death for third world farmers'

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

America wastes while third world wants

(Mr. Howe is a senior fellow of the Overseas Development Council, a private, nonprofit research and public education body devoted to considering the relationship between the United States and third world countries.)

By James W. Howe
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington Every year 220 million Americans waste more energy than is purchased by the 3 billion people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

We waste it by letting it escape without benefitting ourselves — through poor industrial processes, and through lighting, heating, and cooling unused and uninsulated areas.

Meanwhile, a typical farmer in the third world lives out his life using only his own muscles, animal draft power, the sun to dry his crops, and a dwindling supply of wood or dung to cook his meal (totaling in all perhaps 15,000 calories a day). The average American suburbanite uses three times that much energy merely driving his car to work.

For Americans the energy crisis means inconvenience or even mild hardship: temporary layoffs, forced car-pooling, or lowering thermostats.

Prospects not good

For the third-world farmer it may be a matter of life or death. Without more energy there will be no increase in food production, a sobering prospect for one who lives close to starvation; there will be no relief from the many hours of backbreaking labor (mostly female) of hauling wood to cook supper or water to drink, or hand-pounding grain into the coarse meal that is his staple; and there will be no stopping the relentless toll of erosion and spread of the desert that results from his desperate foraging for wood, twigs, dung, and grass — anything to cook his daily meal.

For the urban dweller of the third world the

prospects are not much better. Consumption of oil and gas went up dramatically in the decade ending in 1974, but now crippling oil prices are slowing modernization.

Unable to afford oil, running out of wood, and, except in a few places, without much coal, a disquieting number of third-world countries are driven to the conclusion that their only alternative is nuclear energy.

But the nuclear choice promises staggering problems of costs, complexity, foreign dependency, international regulations, dwindling fuel availability, and environmental hazards to countries that so choose. It also alarms all people who fear the spread of nuclear weapons made possible by the diffusion of nuclear technology.

In such a dilemma it may make sense for many third-world countries to turn to renewable energy forms, such as sunshine, wind, flowing water, and organic wastes.

In the United States there is a surge of interest in such small-scale renewable energy. This is an appealing, if somewhat romantic, idea — the need for which is not yet widely accepted — given the established and, on the whole, quite successful nature of our electric, gas, and petroleum networks.

In the rural third world there are no such networks and none expected soon. If decentralized and renewable energy does not work, the rural third world will be a long time without energy.

Technology exists

But already an array of proven technology exists, and more is emerging from the laboratory. This technology could pump, grind, light, cook, dry crops, and perform other tasks using free renewable forms of energy found in abundance in many third-world rural villages. It could be used to improve life in rural areas where from 50 to 90 percent of the people live, and as experience is gained, some of it may soon be ready for large-scale urban use.

For example, the Gelebs, a remote Ethiopian tribe, has always lived on the edge of starvation and escaped famine only through an aid drop as recently as 1974. Now, they grow several good crops a year on land irrigated by windmills patterned after those on the island of Crete and built with the help of the American Presbyterian Mission in Ethiopia.

However, third world policymakers will hesitate to trade proven nuclear technology, on which decisions must be made soon to have electricity by 1980, for this unproven new technology. They must develop a conviction that it can work, and that can only be based on actual experience with the new technology.

Resources lacking

There are many institutions in the third world eager to undertake renewable energy research — more than 30 even in sub-Saharan Africa. But they lack the resources to do so.

The U.S. and the other industrialized countries, including the International Organization, should be working with these institutions to provide them with funds and technical assistance.

There should be tests of small-scale renewable-energy hardware in scores of villages in Africa, Asia, and Latin America — tests from which the entire world could learn much and which would help third-world policymakers judge whether and how to use this emerging technology to meet an energy crisis of far deeper human proportions than any we are likely to encounter in the U.S.

This would not only help to head off another proliferation, it would also stretch our own research dollars since it is cheaper to participate in a global network of research — learning from every breakthrough anywhere in the system — than to conduct our research alone and pay for it all.

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Going back to Barbados

By Jamea Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bridgetown, Barbados One might as well get used to a new spelling for the word "charm." In the Caribbean, at least.

For when I think of charm and the Caribbean, I automatically think of Barbados; this sunny, easternmost of West Indian islands. I'm unashamedly a Barbados enthusiast.

There are plenty of reasons: the English atmosphere that pervades so much of island life; the endless miles of beaches that are among the best in the world; the variety of accommodations from quaint rooming houses to tasteful modern high-rise hotels; and the local dishes, including tropical fruit and such seafoods as flying fish.

But the best reason of all is the Bajan himself or herself.

He or she is a relaxed, courteous, friendly, and happy individual who genuinely enjoys playing host to the visitor. Maybe that is why a quarter of a million tourists come here each year from the United States, Canada, and Great Britain.

The quarter of a million Bajans, give or take a thousand or so, are obviously pleased with their island and want the visitor to get the same impression.

Don't change it

But don't go trying to change it. A popular local song tells the visitor: "Don't try to change us or rearrange us. We like simplicity."

Yet the island is changing, like many of its neighboring Caribbean islands. The difference perhaps is that the change here is less offensive. Still, Barbados bustles. The island's quarter of a million people are busy, crowded as they are into a pear-shaped island 21 miles long and 14 wide at its widest point.

Actually, it is one of the world's most densely populated islands. Some Bajans say they expect it to sink into the ocean like an overcrowded ship!

It won't, of course, and there is still room to be alone, although once you get to know the Bajan, you will probably want to spend more time with him. You will find Bajan hospitality in the hotels, restaurants, and shops. But a better way to experience it is to get out and mingle with the Bajan in his work and play.

I remember a glorious day of mingling in a cane field, at a sugar mill, in a grocery store, on a beach, and at a fish market. There were four of us and our driver, a genial soft-spoken Bajan whose African ancestors were brought as slaves to this part of the world 300 years ago.

He made sure we came to understand a little of Bajan philosophy. "I've been to other islands, but it's here where I am drawn because there is rest and peace here. It is a simple life," he went on, "and we like it that way. A simple life of friends, both old and new."

You will find much the same attitude wherever you stay — whether it is the rather British, slightly formal atmosphere of the Sandy



Barbados does bustle in spots but there is still plenty of space to do nothing at all

Lane Hotel, the more Americanized, multi-story Barbados Hilton, or the sprawling Sam Lord's Castle.

Actually, any of these three or a dozen other hotels, mostly on the southern half of the island, are among the best hostels in the Caribbean.

Sam Lord's Castle, by the way, spreads out from a mansion that Sam Lord, a notorious 19th-century rogue, built on the eastern, or Atlantic, side of the island in the 1830s. Take time, whether you stay at this hotel, now run by Marriott's, or go elsewhere to visit the mansion itself with its sliding panels, defensive doors, and period furniture brought over from England.

The Hilton is something else — with its inner courtyard dripping with ferns and tropical plants, its almost endless variety of sporting activities with perhaps the best pool on the island. But with the beach right at hand, who wants to spend all his time in a pool? Try out a

bicycle ride from the hotel to some of the nearby 19th and early 20th-century buildings which put up when this was a British colony.

And as for the Sandy Lane, its rather old pace holds a strong appeal. Nothing is hurried, whether it is a meal, a bit of "sea bathing," as lying on a beach is called here, or a game of darts.

Something different

But once you have enjoyed that hotel for a day or so, do get away from it. Try out a coffee house on Trafalgar Square (that's right, it's not just London that has such a square) in downtown Bridgetown and watch the Bajans go by. Some may well elop and talk and that's when the mingling really begins.

You might even get an invitation to come around for supper. But if you do, be sure to bring at least some of the food for after all the Bajan with all his charm and friendliness is not

wealthy. There are a number of delicatessens where you could pick up a main course of, say, flying fish to be cooked later over an open hearth.

The Bajan will probably bring along a lot of other delicacies from the varied fruits of the island, to some of its root crops. There is likely to be a soup course as well; a spinach-like ingredient is one of the favorites.

But even if you do not get an invitation to a home, get to know the Bajan and his thinking. You will be hooked on his charm and his attitude toward life.

And, perhaps, as the words of a popular Bajan song go:

"Come back to my Barbados,
Come back to my island end me
Please come back . . .
You'll find rest and peace in Barbados."
I have followed that advice and come back many times.

Time lingers in Tunisia's Roman ruins

By Goy Anselmo Jr.
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Dougga, Tunisia

Once an important center of the Roman Empire, Dougga today is relatively overlooked by tourists in Tunisia.

But those who make the 70-mile trip from Tunis can still find well-preserved classical

ruins that stand as monuments to their Greek architects and their Roman patrons.

The Roman Empire flourished widely in North Africa and left behind cities which today await further probing by archaeologists and historians. Situated 1,300 feet above a fertile agricultural plain, which ends abruptly at the Tebourouk Mountains, Dougga — called "Thugga" by the Romans — was the best of the several wealthy Roman cities grouped within the "proconsular province," an area administered by a Roman governor.

The Romans cannot claim sole credit for Dougga's importance, for even under earlier Punic domination rapid growth and prosperity had been its hallmark. But the city's greatness was largely Roman-inspired, and it is that empire that is best remembered today by classical scholars and archaeologists.

Dougga's well-preserved Capitol, designed by Marcus Aurelius, is impressive for its Corinthian columns, capped by a portico featuring a Roman eagle. Built by Greek architects during the period 166-167 A.D. from marble and limestone quarried nearby, an impressive 40-foot-wide ceremonial stairway leads into a foyer-like area distinguished by three massive niches where statues of the reigning gods once stood.

The center of the city's political life, it was dedicated to the "supreme political triad of deities," Jupiter (god of the heavens), Juno (his consort), and Minerva (goddess of the

handicrafts and politico-civic being). From the Capitol's entrance, the visitor has a commanding view of the forum and the macellum (marketplace), and can see a wide panoramic mix of valleys and mountains. Covering 250 acres, Dougga is now one-third excavated; the ruins promise to keep archaeologists busy for years to come.

Notable also are the public baths and theater. Built 188-189 A.D., the theater has an impressive layout; its 3,500 seats attract capacity crowds to the annual Dougga Festival, held each June. A bold statement of Roman planning, this cultural center illustrates a keen understanding of the practical movement of people. Clever arrangements for the changing of sets and the prompting of actors demonstrate that modern theater design often looks to Roman influences.

Following the decline of Dougga's Roman period, life became more violent as Christians, taking over in 350 A.D., destroyed many stone symbols of paganism. The Vandals in 480 A.D. and the Byzantines in the sixth century helped to further demolish this once-supreme center of politics, learning, and living.

But today, Dougga still "rises" from the plains with a certain majesty. Acanthus leaves of Corinthian columns remain sharply defined, chariot-wheel marks are visible on street stones, and Roman theater tiers still welcome modern-day theatergoers.

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A master conductor shows how it's done

Berlin's von Karajan with U.S. students

By Joseph Delich

New York

The Juilliard School Symphony Orchestra had a new member at rehearsals not long ago. He sat near the podium — a short, slight man with silvery hair, decisive movements, and stern demeanor.

Although he did not play an instrument and seemed lost among the students — mostly in their 20s and late teens — he was easily the dominant presence to the rehearsal room. Juilliard faculty and other students stood or sat along the walls — all eyes (and especially ears) directed at him.

Music

This was one of three special Juilliard classes for young conductors, and Herbert von Karajan, conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic, was the guest teacher, following a series of New York concerts last fall.

From supremacy on the stage of Carnegie Hall and the New York music scene, Mr. von Karajan sat among the students of the Juilliard orchestra — next, in fact, to youngsters from Long Island, New Jersey, Westchester County, Brooklyn, and other cosmopolitan places. As each student-conductor performed, Mr. von Karajan stood up to explain, encourage, challenge, praise, and even to gently scold and interact with them in many ways.

He interpreted the music by clapping out the rhythm and singing phrases in a flat baritone. His philosophized about conducting by calling for minimal motion and for more faith in orchestra members to do the right thing by themselves.

"After all," he said, spreading his arms around the room, "they can see fortissimo or pianissimo on the score as well as you can."

He mimicked mistakes in hand movements and demonstrated the correct gestures. Other times, he carried on dialogues, disagreed with one student-conductor's response, and accepted a well-reasoned point from another ("he's not all that autocratic," the latter said afterward).

All the student-conductors agreed with Mr. von Karajan's conviction that the greater the music, the more it can be subject to different interpretations. And giving a piece the needed speed is not always a matter of conducting agility and total discipline.

Most of the students at the podium had some professional conducting experience. Victor Bond, a petite young woman in a black pants suit, handled the orchestra with cool authority.

Perhaps aware of significant potential, Mr. von Karajan guided her with extra intensity. "I got an extraordinary concept of sound from him, and he explained how to put it in operation," Miss Bond said. "For him, technique is dispensable. One conductor's technique is certainly not applicable to another. He illustrated this by telling me that Mr. Furtwangler had long arms, which worked well for his body. When anyone else tried his technique, it failed."

From his seat, Mr. von Karajan vigorously reacted to another student's conducting, then went to the podium and watched his hands, all the while offering analyses and suggestions. "Attitude is important — let them alone, let them play," he said, waving to the orchestra.

He returned to his chair and stared hard at the floor, chin in hand. "Yah!" he said, listening and nodding — "that's it exactly." He rose again and addressed the violinists. "It would be a good idea to move the bow just enough to keep the vibrato. No, no — you must go down in one beat," he said, accenting each word with a handclap. The cellos and double-basses made a booming entry and the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic put his fingers in his ears. The student-conductor signalled for a softer tone. Mr. von Karajan glanced approvingly at him.

"Who wants to do 'The Rite of Spring'?" he asked. Myun Wun Chung, conductor of the Juilliard pre-college orchestra, took on the Stravinsky. Mr. von Karajan stopped him early on with reference to 6/8 and 7/8 time and, generally, to the tricky arithmetic in the tempos in this work. He hammered out the needed rhythms with his arms as the student resumed conducting, combining his and Mr. von Karajan's ideas.

Then the guest conductor plunged toward the podium, both forefingers waving. "The first beat in this measure is primary — it is the pattern for all that follows," he told the student, who agreed and began again. "Good," he said as Mr. Chung moved out expansively on his own, the orchestra assuming something of the silken tone of the Berlin Philharmonic.

During a break, I asked Mr. von Karajan if there were formal conducting classes in his student years in Vienna. "There were — we had 27 students in my class, and two survived, myself and another fellow. Maybe it was because we had no teacher, although an oboe player, who fancied himself a conductor, got up and went through the motions."

Peter Mennin, Juilliard's tall, courtly president, was asked about the value of Mr. von Karajan's visit to the rehearsal room. "It's a born teacher. His points of view were extremely important for our students' professional development."

better teacher than success." His words of caution on the numerous self-deceptions of investors provide useful defensive armament.

Ha counsels the individual investor: "You want information on which you can form your own judgments, not tips that are substitutes for your own decisions. . . . The rich rewards go to those who are unconventionally wise. If the 'conventional ones' [professional money managers] tell you that you're being foolish — well, maybe the truth is that you are a very well dressed investor indeed."

—John Moorhead



Herbert von Karajan with the Berlin Philharmonic

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education

School at Sea World

When a killer whale goes to school everybody pays attention

By Cyothia Parsons
Education editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Orlando, Florida

Since I was going to be in Orlando, I wrote to both Disney World and Sea World to ask if they had special programs for school groups. Disney World did not. Sea World sent an exciting packet of material and urged me to be on hand for the first school show at 10:30 a.m.

Some fourth and fifth graders, the coordinator of education at Sea World, Bill Clifton, and I were on time for the first "sound and light" show. The theme that week was based around how sea animals communicate with each other and what sounds they make under water.

In what is usually an adult entertainment show building, we got an educational show which was both informative and entertaining. Three rear-view projection screens gave a blended slide show backgrounded by a sound system combining sea animal sounds and human voice explanations.

The program was fast-paced, very entertaining, and even more informative. The children were extremely attentive, and I learned that fish have nerves extending nearly the length of their bodies which carry sounds. I knew already that sea animals didn't have ears, but I'd never really understood before just how it was that they did record sound.

While Bill Clifton gave me a personally escorted tour of Sea World, the schoolchildren,

with his assistant and their teachers, visited some of the permanent exhibits looking at real fish to see what they had just learned from the slides and the taped lecture.

Then we all met again in the huge amphitheater where the killer whale and the porpoises have been trained to show us how they communicate.

In the slide show we had seen how a porpoise sends out noises and when these sounds hit an object and reverberate back to him, that is how he locates them, it being too dark under water to see well enough. With a special microphone placed in the water so that we could hear the sounds, and with a trainer throwing plastic hoops in the water, we watched as the porpoise sound system worked and he not only located the rings but returned them to the trainer on his nose.

The underwater microphone was marvelous; it picked up the sounds made by both the whale and the porpoises. Any skepticism on even the most curious child's part had to be dissipated by what was boomed out through the sound system. The children, of course, were enthralled.

The finale for that show was a bit of schmaltz — on signal the killer whale came up out of the water and planted a kiss on the cheek of the trembling (but game) young fourth-grade teacher.

The children with cameras positioned themselves for shots and Bill Clifton used a fast-de-

veloping camera to give the teacher proof of her bravery.

If I had come another week, I would have been treated to one of two other educational themes. One focuses on animal behavior and training; the other on animal adaptations to environment.

Also, different days of the week are open to different age groups. Mondays and Fridays are for junior and senior high school students, and the material provided is geared to their more advanced interest.

I was most interested when Bill Clifton told me that almost all the impetus of what Sea World would teach had to come from the Sea World employees. "We want to work with the teachers," he explained, "but they just never come to us with suggestions."

I asked about biology teachers or high schools which taught some type of oceanography. He shook his head in the negative. And we discussed, rather sadly, the fact that so little innovation and creativity seemed to be coming out of the schools.

The education staff at Sea World is also available for college students, individually or in groups. They will work out any type of program that they can, and will let these older students explore some of the career jobs associated with the running of this combination amusement, research, and educational park.

Sea World was recently purchased by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich from the Union Oil Company. Perhaps now there will be the opportunity for greater coordination between schools and this remarkable marine exhibit, including sharing information with those schools which can't get to Orlando or one of the other two Sea Worlds in Ohio and California.



'Shamu' Sea World's killer whale

Schools unshackle Iran's women

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Tehran, Iran
Iran's version of "affirmative action," aimed at freeing women from traditional taboos and at opening doors to occupations that have always been male preserves, has had some effect.

A 1975 study by the Women's Organization of Iran, called "The Employment of Women," documents the modest progress made to date, as well as the attitudes of both man and

woman that remain to be overcome. Despite some notable examples of women who have made it to the boardroom or to the upper levels of government ministries, their numbers are still token. More important for the future is the fact that the number of women in higher education more than doubled between 1970 and 1974.

The Reza Pahlavi Vocational Technical Center went co-ed in the fall of 1975 and now 20 percent of each entering class is made up of young women.

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Advice for investors

The Naked Investor, by Robert Heller. New York: Delacorte Press. 280 pp. \$3.95. London: Widenfeld & Nicolson. £3.25.

Watch it! That is the warning of a British financial journalist who squints suspiciously at sandbars and other traps in the Wall Street mainstream.

Robert Heller, who was once a United States correspondent for the Financial Times and now edits the British business magazine Management Today, maintains that "Failure is a

better teacher than success." His words of caution on the numerous self-deceptions of investors provide useful defensive armament.

Ha counsels the individual investor: "You want information on which you can form your own judgments, not tips that are substitutes for your own decisions. . . . The rich rewards go to those who are unconventionally wise. If the 'conventional ones' [professional money managers] tell you that you're being foolish — well, maybe the truth is that you are a very well dressed investor indeed."

—John Moorhead

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Editorial

Le nouveau chef de l'Inde

(Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 35)

A la satisfaction des forces démocratiques du monde entier, un changement décisif de pouvoir a eu lieu en Inde. Morarji Desai, chef du Parti Janata qui a remporté la majorité des voix aux élections dernières, prend la direction du pays comme Premier Ministre. Indira Gandhi, qui a essayé sans succès d'imposer une autocratie en Inde, a néanmoins quitté le pouvoir, après 11 ans, avec dignité et avec les égards dus au processus constitutionnel.

Peut-être que la tâche du nouveau Premier Ministre peut être le mieux écrite dans les paroles du slogan de son adversaire : « Stabilité ou chaos ? » Pour la première fois l'opposition du Parti du Congrès a l'occasion de montrer qu'elle est capable de diriger la nation de façon constructive. L'Inde est toujours l'Inde — avec tous les problèmes massifs de pauvreté, l'analphabétisme et les divisions sociales que cela implique. M. Desai devra faire en sorte que le pays continue à progresser économiquement, construisant sur les profits honorables faits pendant les deux dernières années, mais le faisant

dans le cadre des institutions et des méthodes démocratiques.

En même temps, M. Desai devra garder le contact avec les immenses masses indiennes qui ont démontré si éloquemment qu'elles se préoccupent effectivement de celui qui les gouverne et de la façon dont elles sont gouvernées. Probablement le facteur qui a fait pencher la balance le plus contre M^{me} Gandhi a été l'effort qu'elle a fait pour imposer le planning familial par la moyen de la stérilisation forcée.

En M. Desai, l'Inde a un chef dont la capacité et la ténacité ont été prouvées. Disciple du Mahatma Gandhi, il a passé un grand nombre d'années en prison pour désobéissance civile. Tout au long des années il a été un critique sévère de M^{me} Gandhi et plus récemment il a subi 18 mois de résidence forcée sans jugement, pour faire ensuite vigoureusement campagne malgré son grand âge. Dans les nombreux postes gouvernementaux qu'il a occupés, il a acquis la réputation d'être un administrateur tenace et capable, bien que ses programmes n'aient pas toujours obtenu le soutien du peuple.

Que M. Desai puisse unifier les nombreux éléments qui forment son parti, cela reste à voir. L'opposition n'a jamais travaillé de concert auparavant et il sera probablement difficile d'unifier ce qui est encore un groupe informe de nationalistes hindous, de partisans traditionnels de Gandhi et d'anticommunistes de gauche. Il faudra de l'habileté politique ainsi que de l'enthousiasme pour atténuer la confusion et l'incertitude tandis que la fumée de la bataille se dissipe.

Entre-temps, l'Occident est naturellement satisfait du déroulement des événements dans la péninsule indienne. Cependant ce serait une erreur de laisser un sentiment d'euphorie l'emporter sur une vision plus sobre et plus réaliste de la position diplomatique de l'Inde. Bien que le nouveau Premier Ministre soit certainement mieux disposé envers les Etats-Unis qu'envers l'Union soviétique, par exemple, on devrait se rappeler que M^{me} Gandhi a déjà été démissionnée par ses liens avec les Soviétiques et a amélioré ses relations avec Washington. Il est probable que la

politique étrangère indienne continuera à être fondée sur le non alignement, bien que des associations plus chaleureuses avec l'Occident soient possibles.

En tout cas, la sagesse devrait prescrire aux Américains, en particulier, de ne pas se laisser aller à une autre « exaltation excessive » au sujet de l'Inde. On a eu trop tendance à se lancer dans les extrêmes en réagissant à propos de l'Inde — à tomber dans un gouffre de désillusions quand la nation flanche et à sauter de joie quand les choses vont bien. L'histoire enseigne certainement que la voie ascendante du progrès doit avoir des hauts et des bas et l'Inde, elle aussi, en aura sa part.

En bref, tandis que l'Occident applaudit à la magnifique démonstration de la force de la démocratie en Inde, puisse-t-il garder sa perspective. Les Etats-Unis et d'autres désireront certainement faire tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour encourager la politique humaine et démocratique d'un nouveau gouvernement. Mais puissent-ils laisser l'Inde régler la cadence de ses relations avec l'Occident et œuvrer de façon à les placer sur une base solide et stable.

Leitartikel

Indiens neuer Führer

(Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 36 in englischer Sprache.)

Zur Zufriedenheit der demokratischen Kräfte überall hat ein friedlicher Machtwechsel in Indien stattgefunden. Morarji Desai, Vorsitzender der Janata-Partei, die eine Stimmenmehrheit in den jüngsten Parlamentswahlen gewann, übernimmt als Ministerpräsident die Führung des Landes. Indira Gandhi, die vergebens versuchte, Indien eine Autokratie aufzuerlegen, trat trotz allem nach elfjähriger Regierungszeit mit Würde und gebührender Achtung vor dem verfassungsmäßigen Lauf der Dinge zurück.

Die Aufgabe des neuen Ministerpräsidenten könnte vielleicht am besten mit den Worten „Stabilität oder Chaos?“ dem Wahlkampfslogan seiner Opposition, beschrieben werden. Zum erstenmal hat die Opposition der Kongresspartei Gelegenheit, zu beweisen, daß sie imstande ist, das Land erfolgreich zu führen. Indien ist immer noch Indien — mit all den ungeheuren Problemen des Armut, des Analphabetentums und der Klassengegensätze, die es in sich schließt. Desai wird das Land wirtschaftlich vorantreiben und auf den lobenswerten Gewinnen der vergangenen zwei Jahre aufbauen müssen, jedoch im Rahmen demokratischer Einrichtungen und Methoden.

Gleichzeitig wird Desai mit den großen Massen Indiens Kontakt pflegen müssen, die so bereit zeigten, daß es ihnen nicht gleich ist, wer sie regiert und wie sie regiert werden. Was das Zünglein an der Waage am meisten beeinflusste, war wahrscheinlich die Tatsache, daß Indira Gandhi Familienplanung durch Zwangssterilisation durchzuführen suchte.

Indien hat in Desai einen Führer, der seine Fähigkeiten und seine Ausdauer bewiesen hat. Als Anhänger Mahatma Gandhis hat er wegen Ungehorsams gegen den Staat viele Jahre im Gefängnis verbracht. Er war ein scharfer Kritiker Indira Gandhis während ihrer Regierungszeit, und kürzlich stand er ohne ein gerichtliches Verfahren neunzehn Monate unter Hausarrest, worauf er trotz seines Alters einen energiegelanten Wahlkampf führte. In den vielen Regierungsjahren, die er bekleidet hat, war er als zäher und fähiger Verwalter bekannt, wenn er auch nicht immer die allgemeine Unterstützung für seine Programme gewann.

Ob nun Desai die vielen Gruppen innerhalb seiner Partei vereinen kann, bleibt dahingestellt. Die Opposition hat nie zuvor zusammengearbeitet, und es mag sich als keine leichte Aufgabe erweisen, das zu vereinen, was immer noch eine amorphe Gruppe hinduistischer Nationalisten, der Anhänger Gandhis und der antikommunistischen Linken ist. Es wird politische Gewandtheit und Begeisterung erfordern, um die Verwirrung und Ungewissheit zu mildern, während sich der Staub legt.

Indessen freut sich natürlich der Westen über die Entwicklung auf dem indischen Subkontinent. Es wäre jedoch verkehrt, sich von einem Hoffungsgefühl hinreißen zu lassen, anstatt nüchtern und realistisch die diplomatische Lage Indiens zu betrachten. Wenn auch z.B. der neue Ministerpräsident den Vereinigten Staaten eindeutig freundlicher gesinnt ist als der Sowjetunion, dürfen wir nicht vergessen, daß Indira Gandhi bereits ihre Verbindungen zur Sowjetunion mit Entschiedenheit betrachtete und bessere Beziehungen zu Washington anstrebte. Indien mag sehr wohl weiterhin eine Außenpolitik der Neutralität betreiben, obgleich wärmere Beziehungen zum Westen möglich wären.

Auf jeden Fall geblendet die Wahrheit, daß vor allem die Amerikaner nicht wieder von einem neuen Hoffungsgefühl in bezug auf Indien hinreißen lassen. Zu oft war man geneigt, die Extreme zu verfallen, wenn es um Indien ging — man ist bitter enttäuscht, wenn das Land in Schwierigkeiten gerät, und hoch ertraut, wenn alles glatter läuft. Die Geschichte lehrt, daß man auf dem Weg des Fortschritts neben dem Gewinn auch Rückschläge erleben und auch Indien wird seinen Anteil davon haben.

Kurz, möge der Westen seine Perspektive bewahren, während er die große, großartige Veranstaltung der Stärkung der Demokratie in Indien beobachtet. Gewiß werden die Vereinigten Staaten und andere Länder alles tun, was in ihren Kräften steht, um die humane und demokratische Politik einer neuen Regierung zu unterstützen. Aber sie sollten Indien in bezug auf seine Beziehungen zum Westen das Tempo bestimmen lassen und daran arbeiten, diese auf eine feste, unerschütterliche Basis zu stellen.



The Christian Science Monitor

Laissez pour compte

ins Hinterreffen geraten

Left behind

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum

(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Un réconfort présent

Beaucoup d'entre nous ont goûté la joie de vivre, ressenti la richesse d'une activité et d'un succès enthousiasmants et ont été ravis d'être simplement eux-mêmes et d'avoir bien réussi. C'est parce que nous avons connu de pareilles heures que leur absence est peut-être si décourageante, pour une raison ou une autre.

Evidemment il est facile de dire : Après la pluie le beau temps, ça ira mieux demain, il faut espérer que les choses s'arrangeront. Mais si aujourd'hui n'était que le « demain » d'hier, à quel point on se demande pas à cet espoir ? Que faire alors ?

Ce qu'il nous faut, c'est la compréhension et non l'optimisme : parce que ce qui élimine les limites de notre liberté de ressentir la joie d'être nous-mêmes, bien portants et heureux, c'est la clarté de la compréhension se traduisant en actions et en situations pratiques.

Compréhension de quoi ? De la réalité spirituelle, de la présence et de l'actualité du bien au-delà des conditions apparentes de l'existence humaine. C'est cette sorte de bien qui est naturelle et spontanée dans l'être individuel, le vôtre comme le mien.

Il n'est pas nécessaire d'y travailler ; ce n'est pas quelque chose que l'on gagne ; il est inhérent, pratique et délectable. Nous en disposons maintenant même. Se réjouissant aux lis des champs, Jésus indiqua de façon charmante la nature de ce bien : « Considérez comment croissent les lis des champs... Puis il décrit la manière dont ils croissent : « Ils ne travaillent ni ne filent... Et le résultat : « Salomon même, dans toute sa gloire, n'a pas été vêtu comme l'un d'eux... »

La Science Chrétienne* adresse un message à tous ceux qui ont un réel besoin de réconfort auquel un simple optimisme n'a pu répondre de façon satisfaisante, ou comme il se doit. Notre compréhension de l'être véritable de l'homme grandit — se développe — sans le travail et le labeur vers des buts humains qui sont la marque du mortel. Notre identité spirituelle, réelle, est dotée d'une beauté, d'une harmonie de l'être, d'une espèce de succès qui dépasse tout ce que le monde peut nous offrir. Bref, l'homme est l'image de Dieu — un être qui ne participe nullement de toutes les conditions de l'existence humaine.

Mary Baker Eddy, qu'une vision pénétrante des enseignements fondamentaux de Christ Jésus amena à découvrir et à fonder la Science Chrétienne, écrit ceci : « Absolument séparée de la croyance à une existence matérielle et du songe de cette existence, est la Vie divine, qui révèle l'intelligence spirituelle et la conscience de la domination qu'a l'homme sur toute la terre... »

Cela ne constitue pas un concept ésotérique mais un mode très pratique de compréhension. Les conséquences qui en résultent dans notre existence peuvent vaincre le découragement et développer le réconfort et la paix que nous désirons et dont nous avons besoin.

Dès maintenant, songez-y par rapport à votre propre existence. Le « vous » réel, le véritable moi, est spirituel. Vous êtes le reflet de Dieu, l'image de Son être, l'icône et maintenant. Est-ce encore là une image de cet optimisme plaisant ? Non, c'est la vérité que Jésus a enseignée et même plus, qu'il a démontrée. C'est la réalité de l'être et vous pouvez en avoir la preuve, quelque mal à l'aise que vous puissiez être actuellement.

Faites-en donc vous-même la preuve. Quel que soit le désarroi de vos pensées et le bouleversement de vos affaires, cédez à la compréhension que vous êtes maintenant même la ressemblance de Dieu, que votre véritable identité n'a rien à voir avec aucune de ces pensées de désarroi ou ces bouleversements. Maintenez cette idée et appréciez l'identité, le « vous » qui paraît. Le résultat sera la guérison, ce que certains peuvent définir comme renaitre à la vie, toute détresse effacée, joyeux de vous trouver réconfortés.

Non pas un simple optimisme, mais l'évidence, ici et maintenant, de la réalité spirituelle de votre être.

*Matthieu 6:28, 29 : « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures », p. 14.

*Christian Science (Christiana) Association

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



Anhinga on the wing, Everglades, Florida

By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels

(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Gegenwärtiger Trost

Viele von uns kennen die Freude am Leben, haben die Begeisterung empfunden, die uns durch anregende Tätigkeit und erhellende Leistungen zuteil wird, und wir haben es genossen, erfolgreich wir selbst zu sein. Und da wir solche Zeiten gekannt haben, kann uns eine gegenwärtige Lebenslage, in die wir aus dem einen oder anderen Grunde geraten, so sehr entmutigen.

Es ist leicht zu sagen, daß alles nie ganz so schwarz sei, wie es aussieht, daß morgen alles anders sein könne und daß wir uns an die Hoffnung auf ein besseres Morgen klammern sollten. Was tun wir jedoch, wenn heute das „Morgen“ von gestern ist und die Hoffnungen von gestern sich nicht erfüllt haben?

Was wir brauchen, ist nicht Optimismus, sondern Verständnis, denn nur die Klarheit des Verständnisses, in die Praxis umgesetzt, beseitigt alles, was uns daran hindert, freudig wir selbst zu sein.

Was müssen wir verstehen? Die geistige Wirklichkeit, das Klar und Jetzt des Guten jenseits der Scheinzustände des menschlichen Daseins. Diese Art des Guten ist in dem individuellen Sein, in Ihm und meinem, etwas Natürliches und Spontanes.

Man braucht sich nicht darum zu bemühen, es kann nicht verdient werden; es ist uns von Natur aus zu eigen, es ist praktisch und bereitet Freude. Wir besitzen es schon jetzt. Jesus deutete die Natur dieses „Guten“ in seinem schönen Hinweis auf die Lilien an: „Schauet die Lilien auf dem Felde, wie sie wachsen.“ Und dann beschrieb er, wie sie wachsen: „Sie arbeiten nicht, auch spinnen sie nicht.“ Und das Ergebnis? „Ich sage euch, daß auch Salomo in aller seiner Herrlichkeit nicht bekleidet gewesen ist wie daselbst eine.“

Die Christliche Wissenschaft* hat eine Botschaft für diejenigen von uns, die wirklich des Trostes bedürfen, den uns bloßer Optimismus nicht in richtiger oder befriedigender Weise gebracht hat. Unser Verständnis von dem wirklichen Sein des Menschen wächst — entfaltet sich — ohne die Mühe und Arbeit, menschliche Ziele zu erreichen, die das Merkmal des Sterblichen ist. Unser wirkliches, geistiges Selbst hat eine Schönheit, eine Harmonie des Seins und einen Erfolg, die alles, was der Mensch zu bieten hat, übertreffen. Kurz, der Mensch ist das Ebenbild Gottes — ein von allen Bedingungen des menschlichen Daseins getrenntes Wesen.

Mary Baker Eddy, deren Einblick in die grundlegenden Lehren Christi Jesu sie zu ihrer Entdeckung und Gründung der Christlichen Wissenschaft führte, schreibt: „Gänzlich getrennt von der Annahme, und dem Traum des materiellen Lebens ist das göttliche Leben, das geistiges Verständnis und das Bewußtsein von der Herrschaft des Menschen über die ganze Erde offenbart.“

Dies ist keine esoterische Auffassung, sondern ein sehr praktisches Verständnis. Seine Auswirkungen in unserem Leben können Entmutigung überwinden und uns den Trost und Frieden bringen, die wir ersehnen und brauchen.

Denken Sie einmal darüber nach, was dies ebenjetzt für Ihr eigenes Leben bedeutet. Ihr wirkliches Ich, Ihr wahres Selbst, ist geistig. Sie sind die Widerspiegelung Gottes, das Ebenbild Seines Seins hier und jetzt. Ist das wieder dasselbe angenehme Optimismus? Nein. Es ist die Wahrheit, die Jesus lehrte — und mehr als lehrte, nämlich demonstrierte. Es ist die Tatsächlichkeit des Seins, und Sie können es beweisen, ganz gleich, wie untröstlich Sie im Augenblick sein mögen.

Sehen Sie nur selbst. Fügen Sie sich dem Verständnis — ohne Rücksicht auf den Aufruf in Ihrem Denken und das Durchdringen in Ihren Angelegenheiten —, daß Sie jetzt in diesem Augenblick Gottes Ebenbild sind und daß Ihr wahres Selbst von all jenen Gedanken des Aufruhrs oder jenem Durchdringen getrennt ist. Halten Sie daran fest, freuen Sie sich an Ihrem Selbst, das in Erscheinung tritt. Das Ergebnis wird Heilung sein, eine neue Lebensversicherung, ein Freisein von Bedrängnis, die Gewähr echten Trostes.

Dies ist kein bloßer Optimismus, sondern die geistige Wirklichkeit Ihres Seins, die hier und jetzt sichtbar wird.

*Matthias 6:28, 29 : « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift », S. 14.

*Christian Science (Christiana) Association

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift » von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Auskunft über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache steht bei Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

The Home Forum

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

A redress of balance

"Le chair est triste, hélas! et j'ai lu tous les livres." (The flesh is sad, alas, and I've read all the books.) This final line of a poem called "Brise Marine" (Sea Breeze) by the French poet, Stephen Mallarmé, came back to me recently when I was pondering my lost interest in reading.

As a child, a teen-ager, and a college student I read voraciously — but selectively. Novels, short stories, poetry, were the fodder on which I fed exclusively. Literature was my life. I not only majored in it but consumed it, and there never was any question of exchanging fiction for non-fiction, fantasy for fact.

I discovered the Mallarmé while studying for a master's degree in Comparative Literature, an episode in my past which I cannot ever recount without recalling my father's distraught question, "But what can you do with an M.A. in Comparative Literature?" I was taking a course in French symbolist poetry with which I found, to my melancholy delight, I had an even greater affinity than with romantic poetry. Steeped in malaise, ennui, tristesse, etc. I wandered through my little world a very old young person, adopting the saturnine view of life peculiar to that age group, which I suspect is predicated on a creeping awareness that one is approaching the brink of life and is scared to death to leap into it. It is perhaps no coincidence that the symbolists were so preoccupied with "the abyss."

It was the second part of the line from Mallarmé that struck me — since in those days I knew very little about the flesh. I felt as if I had read all the books, and knew enough to recognize that literature, like history, does tend to repeat itself. There is a finite number of plots and themes treated in different styles, in different guises, from different points of view. Not that these differences are unimportant — the author's mind is the crucial variable, the unknown quantity, that renews the ancient plot, revives the tired theme.

The fault, as usual, lies in ourselves, the readers. It gradually becomes apparent that



Courtesy of "On Reading" by Andre Kertesz, Viking-Grossman, New York
"Reader, Greenwich Village," 1963: Photograph by Andre Kertesz

one learns from a book only what one is ready to learn, and that beyond a certain point there is no substitute for experience. Rereading proves this nicely. Everyone has had the experience of rereading a book after

a few months or years and understanding it in a way he did not understand it before until it more or less than the first time. After college I was at a point in my life where I knew intuitively that books could no

longer protect me from the world or give me with the answers I felt I needed to live with. I think that people who read to stave off life as I did in part lack confidence in their ability to thread their way through the labyrinth and read books as gently as travelers in a foreign country. The vicarious element is great, well. It is easier to pick one's way through the pages of someone else's life than to go through one's own.

After college I began to work and became an adult, officially at least. But I continued to read about life as if I were still studying exams. Books were my old friends, and I became new ones. I sensed that the last of my childish returns had set in, that the book weren't teaching me any more than that I already knew, but they still offered me the illusion of security and the solace of escape.

Gradually the reading tapered off — a personal reading, that is. I read a great deal for my job, and between that and the time to read on my own. I felt anxious about this. Part of me was filled with anxiety, as if I were falling behind, part of me simply missed it, part of me felt relief.

I can't remember the last time I read a novel. It must be six months to a year. It shocks me to write that sentence, as I never have imagined such a situation possible. Of course it's been an extremely busy year, working and getting married. Time alone does not account for it. I had picked up a novel a few times and began to read but my attention wandered. So how I couldn't get interested. My thoughts kept returning to my own life.

I don't know quite what to make of it. One explanation is that I find my own life more interesting now than any book. It grapples me completely. I am at last what I read about for all those years and seems to me an appropriate redress of it since. But at times I worry that I am being lulled or lulled. I glance quickly at the shelves of unlabeled books and again at the memory of full cartons stored away.

My changing attitude toward books seems to confirm the cyclical pattern to our lives. The seasonal interpretation expounded in the scriptures, and I cannot help but wonder if and when I will go back to the books I read and haven't read to find out what has happened to me all this time.

Diana Lown

Never to be told

Hush the mouth, and heed
what is only found
when hearing has been freed
from sound, from sound.

Seal the eyes, and seek
what is only known
when sight itself can break
clean through stone.

Hard it is to dare
such depth of inwardness,
and harder still to share
what there may come to pass:

For ah — how to bring
out from cave of flame
molding of the thing
consuming name?

Doris Peol

Homecoming

Sun fills the elm
(as children the air
with song) with haze
the afternoon long

sa the bright fall day
like a thick rope strong
from a limb is swung
gaily, arcing

children through air.
Riding the knot
outward, they glide
circling, not

quite to the place
they left, never

alighting twice
the same, forever

different returning
from how they began.
For master of more than
herself sailing out

is the child who returns —
if only because
of what she has learned
in mid-air joys

under sun-hung alms,
of cycles of light
in the steadfast realms
of stillness, of height.

Rushworth M. Kidder

The Convent of Kaghart

When I think of you my heart becomes
the convent of Kaghart
carved out of a hill, out of stone.

Even a murmur echoes in its walls.
A flutter becomes a long stream
of ocean waves

whose sound rises, rises
into the air
from the dark interior until
it rings like a distant bell

My heart, when I think of you, becomes
the convent of Kaghart that looks
out on the outside, like a rock.

Translated from Armenian by
Diana Der Hovhannissian

On keeping a notebook

Recently, I returned home from work and found a small, brown-wrapped parcel awaiting me. Opening it, I realized a woman friend of mine had sent me her diary.

Perhaps I should qualify this by saying she sent me her journal. Some people would argue it's semantic quibbling, but I've always roughly distinguished journals as caches of untested expectations and diaries as refuges for thwarted or unpalatable experiences. In this case, then, my friend sent me her journal.

This lengthy log, reflections condensed and culled from a year's experiences, represented the sum of her emotional and intellectual spaces. In essence, it was her testimony of hope and terror.

Now this friend, who for the past few years has lived in Paris pursuing her career as a painter, is someone whom I have known since childhood. Our relationship, now as then, is one formed on an instinctual trust, one which requires little specific knowledge of the other's activities in order to sustain the mutual interest and affection. For this reason, (one I like to think of as a true monition of grace between two people) I know very little about her life.

A comment made in a recent interview by the French actress-director Jeanne Moreau about a woman she knows accurately expresses my feelings for my friend, Elisabeth. "There's a friend I've known for 19 years and all I know about her private life is what I've heard from others. And yet our relation is very profound; if she dies, I die."

When I discovered that my friend had sent me her journal, my feelings, as one might imagine, ranged somewhere between intense excitement and equally intense awe. Simultaneously, I felt the terrible responsibility of being privy to another person's innermost thoughts, as well as a quiet humility in realizing the trust entailed by such an act.

Unlike most people who keep private journals, Elisabeth never falls into the predictable trap of writing to sound intelligent — in other words to be read. Her journal is intelligent because it is honest. For her, the personal is only a very inadequate way of distilling the universal. She is as suspicious of her interpretation of personal experiences as she is of her need to interpret them at all.

Elisabeth's ambivalent reaction to keeping a journal sparked deep-seated suspicions I have harbored about the nature of private journals, particularly those of women. Are journals, I wondered, the pit rather than the flesh of experience's sacred fruit? Are they an excuse, under the guise of trying to find out what we feel, of not having to share those feelings at all? Moreover, has this excuse, this warfare in emotional privacy, become a habit?

The inherent secrecy of journal keeping is caught in the title of a contemporary book called "Revelations: Diaries of Women." A compendium of extracts from famous women's journals, this book provides a disconcerting look into the private thoughts penned by private women in private rooms. This is less a question of journal writers coming out of the closet as it is of us going in.

As I read these extracts, the one fact common to all was the amount of time and energy which had obviously been channeled into them. Why, I wondered, not into a novel, a play, or a collection of poems? In journal form, Mme. Sevigne's literary bon mots merely become literary bon mots. In the end,

so much is reduced to chiller, brilliant chatter, but chatter, nonetheless.

The history of women's journals is, in a sense, the inverse history of literature itself. Prompted by feelings too powerful to be borne inwardly, women externalized them, as would any writer, by finding words to diffuse them. In this case, though, the words and feelings remained private as they remained unpublished.

Women's journals, then, became the most important parenthesis in the history of literature. Often they provided others with inspiration. Dorothy Wordsworth's huculic journal, for example, provided acknowledged poetic inspiration for her brother William's verse. Similarly, Alice James's spacious diary, which widened the crevice of her life, provided excellent literary substance for her brother Henry's spoolous novels. Most extreme is the case of the minor French novelist Raymond Radiguet who stole his lover's journal in order to give emotional credibility to a novel based upon their relationship.

Some women's journals, however, became in themselves great masterpieces when published posthumously. Mary Boykin Chesnut's compelling journal documenting the harrowing effects of slavery in America is more powerful as diary than novel. To fictionalize what she saw would certainly have been historic betrayal. The journals of Lady Nijo, a 13th-century Japanese writer, similarly afford unique insight into the minds and manners of her era.

Most outstanding, perhaps, of the journal-as-art-form is Virginia Woolf's "A Writer's Diary," her literary survival manual and manifesto. Why Woolf's journal is impressive, through, is precisely because it is an axis around which all her true accomplishments — her novels, essays and reviews — revolve. The great journal, then, is great largely when it acts as a ballast rather than a substitute for other accomplishments.

For the professional diarist, (the most obvious example being Anais Nin with her seven-volume life,) the journal can become a mesmerizing mirror rather than a window. The result becomes lives lived between almost margins of a notebook, lives lived on the deceptively straight surface of the ruled line. Lives, in Eliot's words, which aren't "disturb the universe."

Why? In her provocative essay, "On Keeping a Notebook," the writer Joan Didion observes, "Keepers of notebooks are rearrangers of things." Although this is the impulse and task of all great art it can also be the source of deflecting great art.

Do not notebooks privately tame and temper experiences, allowing us to freeze events and thereby think we control them? Are they not safe surrogates against the terror of possibly failing in public? Are they not falsefates against the one word never found in journals: exposure?

My friend sent me her journal, in part, to relieve herself of her words. The journal, our legacy as women, bad value for her only when it became shared. To send me her journal was to relieve herself of the illusion that privacy is possible only when alone. And so, she joined hands, through words, with another woman, who, in turn, has rendered the experience into print.

Perhaps, one day, we'll not read our words at all, and, in Elisabeth's phrase, find other ways of "educating the heart."

Alexandra Johnson

The Monitor's religious article

Comfort now

Many of us have tasted joy in living, felt the exuberance of spirited activity and accomplishment, and relished just being ourselves in a successful way. It is because we have known such times that the lack of them, for one reason or another, can so discourage us.

It is easy to say, yes, every cloud has its silver lining, and tomorrow will be a better day, and we should hang on in hope of a brighter tomorrow. But what if today is the "tomorrow" of yesterday and has not fulfilled yesterday's hope? Then what do we do?

Our need is not for optimism but for understanding — because it is the clarity of understanding, translated into practical action and events, that removes the limitations on our freedom to enjoy being ourselves happily and well.

Understanding of what? Of spiritual reality, of the hereness and nowness of good beyond the apparent conditions of human experience. It is the kind of good that is natural and spontaneous in individual being, in your being and mine. It does not have to be worked for; it cannot be earned; it is inherent, practical, and enjoyable. We have it now. Jesus indicated its nature in his beautiful reference to the lilies, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow." Then he described how they grow: "They toil not, neither do they spin." And the end result? "Even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."

Christian Science has a message for those of us who have a real need for comfort that mere optimism has not answered properly or satisfactorily. Our understanding of men's real being grows — develops — without the toil and the working toward human goals that mark the mortal. Our real, spiritual selfhood has a beauty, a harmony of being, a kind of success that surpasses anything the world can offer. Man is, in short, the image of God — a being apart from all the conditions of human experience.

Mary Baker Eddy, whose insight into the fundamental teachings of Christ Jesus led to her discovering and founding Christian Science, writes, "Entirely separate from the belief and dream of material living, is the life divine, revealing spiritual understanding and the consciousness of man's dominion over the whole earth."

This is no esoteric concept but a very practical way of understanding. Its consequences in our lives can overwhelm discouragement and develop the comfort and peace we want and need.

Think of it in relation to your own life right now. The real you, the genuine self, is spiritual. You are the reflection of God, imaging

His being here and now. Is this more of the same pleasant optimism? No. It is the truth Jesus taught, and more than taught — demonstrated. It is the actuality of being, and you can prove it, no matter how discomforted you are at the moment.

Just see for yourself. Regardless of the turmoil of your thought and the disruptions of your affairs, yield to the understanding that you — right now — are God's likeness, that your true selfhood is apart from any of those thoughts in turmoil or those disruptions. Hold to this, enjoy the self, the you, that appears. The result will be healing, what some might call a new lease on life, a freedom from distress, the need for comfort answered happily.

Not mere optimism, but the spiritual reality of your being made evident here and now.

*Matthew 6:28, 29; **Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 14.

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BIBLE VERSE

Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty;
give unto the Lord glory and
strength.

Psalms 29:1

A little matter

With dishes shining on the shelf,
And the hearth swept clean and burnished,
And the tea kettle drowsing slow,
I rested on a spread of sun
Like silk of gold across my bed,
And I felt the creature comforts
As the still, small joys of caring
By which each day is tucked away
Into infinity with grace.

Mary Roselore Stott

OPINION AND...

Hua: China's Stalin?

By Pierre M. Perrotte

China's breach with the Soviet Union in the late 1950s weakened the validity of trying to understand China's political system in terms of the Soviet system. Yet, in the absence of any clear-cut interpretation of the Chinese politics of succession, a case can be made perhaps for returning to the analogy with the U.S.S.R. and raising the possibility that China might now have its own Stalin.

The analogy should not be overdrawn but consider the following:

Hua Kuo-feng's evident consolidation of power before Mao's death, the way he took charge of the eulogy of the departed leader and the symbolic preservation of Mao's remains and ideological legacy, and his surehanded disposal of his rivals for power, the "gang of four," are familiar repetitions of Stalin's assumption of Lenin's mantle. But these events alone cannot be viewed as extremely unusual. Any one of Hua's rivals is likely to have acted in the same way. The more intriguing questions, in seeking parallels between Stalin and Hua Kuo-feng, are what kinds of pre-succession careers the two men followed and what policies were of priority to them.

Stalin has been described as being, before his overt assumption of power, modest, unnoticeable, almost anonymous, a man with an "im-

personal personality," of "very ordinary stature," a middle-of-the-road organization man who was able to consolidate bureaucratic control without arousing the suspicions of his potential rivals.



From the little we have learned so far about Hua Kuo-feng, much the same descriptions might be applied to his style and career. To Western observers and in all likelihood to his political opponents, the now discredited "gang of four," Hua too was a dark horse. On the matter of political style, Hua's admonition to be "meticulous in organization and direction" could aptly describe, in retrospect, the principles followed by Stalin in his rise to power.

Hua remains a very elusive figure in Chinese politics in terms of policy preferences and ideological orientation, with the exception of

one policy area which we know to have formed a thread of continuity in his political career: agricultural mechanization. Even though China no longer faces the issue of agricultural collectivization which Stalin faced in 1928, a definite trend is becoming evident in China today in which both industrialization and farm mechanization are taking a top priority position in the continued movement for change, as occurred in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s.

What might be the implications for China if we draw the analogy between the high priority given to economic modernization by Hua today and Stalin's priorities in the Soviet Union of almost half a century ago? It is perhaps unjustified or at least premature to anticipate for China the repressive policies initiated by Stalin during the great purges, although one might keep in mind the fact that Hua Kuo-feng once headed the Ministry of Public Security (the police) and the swift with which he arrested the "gang of four."

There is, however, good reason to speculate on the consequences of the high priority given to modernization. Both agricultural mechanization and industrialization (which are linked to a larger process of increasing productivity in agriculture and industry) tend to call for greater order and planning in society and for

reliance on an elite of specialized technicians and highly skilled workers who will manage production in the short run. These demands have characterized the Maoist phase of Chinese politics in the past few decades, a phase in which the less privileged strata of the population were encouraged to participate in production decisions and to voice their opposition to the whims of those who were blessed with more authority, more wealth, and more education and expertise.

It is not unreasonable to speculate that China's egalitarian emphasis will be removed as a consequence of the new priorities, but the great push for industrialization and agricultural mechanization under Stalin provided justification for the development of a privileged elite and for the repudiation of the egalitarian ideals of the revolution.

It may not be long before a new period of Chinese politics is heralded by a resumption of Stalin's phrase that only "Lefist blocs... idealize the poor."

Mr. Perrotte is Director of Asian Studies at Wheaton College in Massachusetts and associate editor of the quarterly journal *Chinese Law and Government*.

Jimmy Carter slept here

Melvin Maddocks

When Jimmy Carter stayed overnight in Clinton, Massachusetts, he made his own bed. Thus a new example was set for presidential aspirants of all ages, or so parents of least may hope.

Would Richard Nixon have made his own bed? Would even George Washington—who slept practically everywhere—have tidied up his mattress and quilts the morning after? The questions must remain rhetorical, but one's heart seriously doubts it.

Furthermore, we can assume that President Carter, as an old Navy man, made a very good bed. Regulation squared corners. Bottom sheet set out enough for a quarter to dance on. Pillow nicely plumped. Spread falling evenly to the right and left.

One can just hear Mr. Carter at 6:30, or whenever, murmuring to his cool Northern sheets in his warm Southern voice: "For too long political leaders have been isolated from the beds they sleep in. Every bed has its sagging spring, its missing mattress button, its one unspeakable wrinkle. I come from a little town called Plains, Georgia, and it's full of such beds. I want to know your problems. I don't promise to solve them all, but I'll never lie to you."

Disgruntled Ford-voters will be quick to point out that making the bed was an empty gesture—political showboating. Everybody knows that great beds get changed.

Such a charge will, of course, only sting Carter sup-

porters into sneering personal remarks, like: "Well, old Jerry couldn't even make it around the bed without stumbling over something."

Before the Great Clinton Bed-Making gets turned into a cheap political issue, it ought to be put in some perspective. We would suggest that here at last, in Carter the bed-maker, is the definition of '70s populism we have all been waiting for.

A populist is a man who makes his own bed. Veteran populist-watchers now may ask themselves the interesting question: What other figures in recent political history would have passed this test?

Our answer is Henry Agard Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, Vice-President during Franklin Roosevelt's second term, and a third-party candidate for president in 1948.

Like Mr. Carter, Wallace was a millionaire farmboy. Wallace also identified himself with those that Carter likes to call "citizens without influence."

Wallace took off his coat whenever possible. Every word, every gesture of style seemed to say: "I'm not your usual professional politician."

Wallace was a man to whose lips the words "rights" and "principles" came as often as they do to Carter's.

All this puzzled Wallace-watchers almost as much as it does Carter-watchers. Wallace, too, was accused of being fuzzy on the issues.

Wallace, too, struck people as being a very tough competitor beneath his puffy. A fierce tennis player with one of history's first two-handed backhands, Wallace was once quoted as saying: "I suppose it's not very Christlike of me, but I do like to win."

The populist puzzles his watchers, and probably himself, with such paradoxes. How can you be a Little Guy and come in first?

Abraham Lincoln may be the only totally convincing populist in American history.

Would Abraham Lincoln have made his own bed? The question must have passed through Mr. Carter's head as he neatly folded back the top sheet.

For what it's worth, here's our best populist guess. Yes, Abraham Lincoln would have made his own bed. But the results would have been a disaster, and he couldn't help himself, just as Mr. Carter, by contrast, couldn't help making a superb bed, with the words of Admiral Halsey in his ear: "Why not the best?"

Henry Wallace, on the other hand, made a pretty fair bed, and then very carefully mused it up. At least that's our populist story for the day, and we're going to stick with it.

Readers write

No doubt Pierre Pradesvand's letter (Monitor March 14) is right to criticize such aspects of life in South Africa and Rhodesia as the wage differentials between blacks and whites and the harsh conditions in some prisons provided he is just as critical of the government sponsored murders in Uganda.

But he apolls his case for a better life for blacks in the last African countries where whites are allowed any control of government by making statements which are clearly untrue.

For example it is quite incorrect to state that the "great majority of blacks have been kept in illiteracy and so cannot read the Monitor." In fact the literacy rate for blacks in South Africa is 87 percent and for the 13 to 22 age group it is 90 percent. The Republic has 3,886,000 black children in school, 72,140 teachers, 13,144 schools and its spends \$170 million a year on black education. I invite Mr. Pradesvand to tell Monitor readers what the similar figures are for Senegal.

Mr. Pradesvand is also very wide of the mark when he criticizes South Africa for "paying pitifully low salaries to blacks." In fact black wage rates have been rising for some years at 12 percent per annum. Black gold miners have had their wages quadrupled in the last five years and this has had the affect of

On Africa and England's middle class

enabling them to spend a much longer period on their family farms before going back to the mines, where incidentally they get free food, accommodation and health care.

Finally Mr. Pradesvand serves no useful purpose by suggesting that whites are afraid of Africans. The heroic and very successful campaign by the small South African forces in fighting to save Angola from Marxist tyranny shows that white Africans do not lack courage in fighting for the ideals they believe in.

Howard L. Fry

Middle class not diminishing

I agree with Joseph Harsch's article (Monitor, March 7), "Lady Churchill is not the only one," that the plight of the middle class, retired, is an unfair and unhappy one, but I cannot share his concern that the middle class is diminishing. It is the working class that is disappearing in Britain today. Over a long period the working class have been exploited by the economic necessity and commercialism which has meant long working hours and poor pay. In the last few years the pay has risen dramatically and this has given the working class spare cash, luxury goods, holidays abroad—all the material privileges of the middle class, and in that sense they have become middle class.

On the whole the working class do not lack a desire for education, what they lack is an opportunity for education of the right kind. The unemployed and the retired also need this opportunity.

As we move into the post-industrial era values and lifestyles will change. As Denis Lawton says in his book, "Social Class, Language and Education," "Working class life will disappear with the going of routine manual jobs." Ipswich, England Yvonne Catchpole

South Africa and Israel

As an American Jew whose family helped build the state of Israel, I was deeply concerned to read John Cooley's piece in which he wrote that studies indicate South Africa and Israel have increased their cooperation.

Arming the racist regime in South Africa or shipping arms to Ecuador is the poorest type of public posture Israel could hope for. I urge Jews everywhere to discourage Israel from becoming the arms merchant of the Mideast. San Rafael, Calif. Jeffrey H. Gale

Criticizing British actions

Great Britain's new Foreign Secretary, David Owen, stated in his first major speech, "We in Britain will take our stand on human

rights in every corner of the globe." This is good news, indeed. However, Mr. Owen does not have to look further than his own doorstep.

The government of Great Britain is presently under indictment by the Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France, for the human rights of Irish political prisoners, all without trial in Ulster, 1971. Although the British Government made every effort to "cover up" the torture policy for over five years, it proved unsuccessful and the indictment stands.

Foreign Secretary Owen can now put his words into action. He can bring to trial those in the government and security forces responsible for the approved and sanctioned British torture policy in the six Ulster counties. Timothy J. Brennan, Guernwood, Calif.

We invite readers' letters for the columns of course we cannot answer every one, and we are not condensed before publication. But we welcome comments are welcome. Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International House, One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02116.

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

Mr. Brezhnev is sensitive — with reason

President Carter's talk about "human rights" has obviously caused pain in Moscow. Leonid Brezhnev does not like it. He has talked back in sharp terms. He has more reason than most persons living west of the river Elbe perhaps realize.

The reason, to quote the London Economist, is that:

"Even now, the Russians are on the verge of becoming a minority in the Soviet Union: the other peoples, combined, will overtake them any time now."

When Mr. Carter talks about "human rights" violations in the Soviet Union he and most of his Western listeners have in mind primarily some 2.5 million Jews in a total Soviet population which is estimated to be today about 275 million. But the Jews are the second smallest of the many non-Russian ethnic groups who inhabit the Soviet Union. The smallest group are the Tadzhiks at 2.1 million.

Mr. Brezhnev has to worry about a great deal of dissatisfaction among groups of people far more numerous than the Jews. If they were the only dissatisfied people in Mr. Brezhnev's empire he would have relatively little to worry about. The trouble is their complaints can tend to become contagious, and any concessions made to them can give ideas to a lot of other people.

Probably the amount of dissatisfaction inside the Soviet Union tends to be exaggerated outside. And even if the Russians by themselves become a minority of the total, there are two other Slavic groups, the Ukrainians at over 40 million and the Byelorussians at about 10 million, who make up a substantial Slavic majority. Taken together the three Slavic groups come to something over 180 million out of the total of probably 275 million.

So the time is certainly not in sight when the Slavs will be outnumbered in the Soviet Union. But there are something near a hundred million non-Slavs who cling to their own cultures and their own religions and who dominate the areas in which they live. Russians are a majority of the population only in Great Russia itself. Everywhere else the dominant element is the Moldavians, the Lithuanians, the Uzbeks — or whatever it may be. And in all of these other non-Russian areas most of the top jobs are still in the hands of members of the Russian minority.

There are grievances in Mr. Brezhnev's empire. The Jews are among the aggrieved, but are a small minority of those aggrieved. Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians together number perhaps about five million. Their religion is Christian. They have been subjected to a heavy and relentless Russification program ever since they were resubjugated by the Rus-

slans in 1945. They would like to get out from under Moscow's oppressive hand.

Much more numerous are the Muslim peoples of Central Asia numbering somewhere around 40 million.

These Muslims have the highest birth rate in the Soviet Union. They were subjected to Russian rule recently — much of it within a little over a hundred years. The big Russian push into the Muslim areas of Central Asia began in about 1840 and ended by about 1890. The peoples of these lands remember their own rich historic record. Their ancestors once ruled over huge empires of their own. They have grievances.

The melting pot has worked imperfectly in the United States, but Americans compared to Soviets are homogeneous. There is no single group of persons inside the United States who would leave it if they could, or set up a separatist state. True, the people of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth Islands are currently talking of seceding from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. But this has more to do with next summer's tourist season than with serious politics. And even as the islands are not talking about independence from the United States. There is no serious unsatisfied nationalism or urge to separatism inside the United States. Hence it is difficult for Americans to appreciate how different things are in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is not monolithic. It is not homogeneous. It is an empire in which the members of the largest ethnic group, the Great Russians, dominate a number of smaller ethnic groups. The best is for the Russians.

Is there potential disintegration in this system? No one is sure of the answer. In Moscow they dismiss the idea as the wild dream of their enemies. But they also are quick to trample on the slightest sign of nationalistic dissidence in any part of their empire. And they cannot regard as friendly any remark by a President of the United States which might have the effect of stirring up unrest among any of the various nationalities.

Mr. Carter insists that there is no linkage between his concern for human rights and his interest in doing business with the Soviets about such things as weapons and trade. But it is difficult for the men in Moscow to regard what has been said already as being anything less than an assault upon the integrity of the Soviet state. It seems highly doubtful that much progress will be made in Soviet-American relations so long as the men of Moscow feel that Mr. Carter whether intentionally or not is giving them serious trouble at home. They are vulnerable.

What's wrong with the BBC and how to put it right

By Francis Iteney

Battered but more or less intact, Britain's broadcasting authorities are licking their wounds. After considering more than 7,000 pieces of evidence about their conduct, Lord Annan's Committee on Broadcasting has given them both a caning and told them to do better in future. Especially the prestigious BBC.

A minority of the 16 member committee wanted to chop the "Beeb" up — at least into separate radio and television entities. The majority turned that down in the end, recommending only that the local, low-powered radio stations run by the BBC and commercial interests should be brought together under a new independent body.

Lord Annan's other major recommendation is the setting up of a new public body, called the Open Broadcasting Authority, to operate a fourth channel of television. The idea is apparently to meet the objection that the present three — two BBC and one commercial — do not provide free publishing access to the air in the manner of the free press.

The OBA would apparently be relieved of the obligation to preserve scrupulous balance in its programs of opinion. It would draw its material from a variety of sources, including the

Open University, independent production companies and producers and its own news service — but no wartime cinema films.

OBA's money would come from educational grants, advertising, and even direct sponsorship — a new departure for British television.

Minor proposals are:

• A joint program journal — instead of the competing Radio Times (BBC) and TV Times (Commercial).

• A Welsh-speaking TV channel to be created for Wales as soon as possible — a triumph for the nationalists.

• A Broadcasting Complaints Commission to be created to consider all complaints of unfair treatment or misrepresentation. (At present, the broadcasters have their own tribunals.)

• A Public Enquiry Board for Broadcasting, which would hold special public hearings into various aspects of broadcasting — for example, violence or nudity — and would audit the broadcasting bodies' stewardship of the air every seven years.

• Stricter control of "inappropriate" advertising on the air.

• The BBC should continue to be financed by license fees.

• Less oppressive party political broadcasting.

• Dubbed laughter to be forbidden. (All recommendations are subject to Parliament and economic recovery.)

The Annan Committee was twice created by Harold Wilson's Labour government — and was abolished by intervening Conservatives. There was always a strong feeling among BBC staff that its main purpose was to punish the Corporation for being unkind to Labour. And the Beeb does come in for a good deal of verbal chastisement.

After praising the BBC for "having raised over the years the level of taste and discrimination" of the British people in music, drama and the arts — and for providing better comedy, light entertainment and sport than commercial TV — the Annan Report deals sternly with the Corporation's internationally renowned news and current affairs programs.

The committee says they have an uneasy feeling that some of the finest attributes of the BBC are in decay and that it is suffering from loss of nerve. It agrees with the generally held view that BBC news and current affairs are now inferior to commercial TV's, and that the BBC output is characterized by "caution, lack

of direction and touchiness." Both sides of the industry had complained of poor coverage of their affairs. In this area, and others, programs were "patchy, dull and on occasions superficial to the point of banality."

The BBC is also criticized for "overkill" on big public occasions — as when it sent 57 staff to cover the "less than gripping" Democratic Party convention in New York. BBC bureaucracy is described as "an organizational fog," and BBC reaction to complaints as "cavalier, aggressive and arrogant."

On the other hand, the committee almost seems to entice the Corporation into trouble with Government, complaining that it has dodged investigative journalism and depth-reporting on subjects like Ulster.

Commercial television comes in for criticism too. Its general programming is called "safe, stereotyped, routine." But about the only threat that does run through the report is one of dissatisfaction with BBC journalism, resentment against BBC hignups.

Independent Television News succeeds largely because it is simpler and has fewer non-broadcasters getting in the way of those who do the real work.

Forcible family planning toppled Mrs. Gandhi

By Lee Ambrose

One of the ironies of the election results in India is that the government was brought down not on issues that preoccupied its critics — such as preventive detention and freedom of speech — but on an issue that went straight to the sensibilities of the masses: the abuses of the family planning program.

While the pressures of the world were reporting the emergency in terms of the India they see and hear, that is to say the literate 30 percent of the population, including politicians jockeying for power, it was the concerns of the "other" India that prevailed in the end.

The "other" India are the poor, the illiterate, the traditionally manipulated. They distrust government.

Where most of the people are illiterate, news travels by word of mouth and rumor, often embellished by vivid imaginings. The excesses of the family planning campaign when "an element of compulsion" was introduced, last spring gave a grim flavor to those imaginings. Had Prime Minister Indira Gandhi not alluded her critics, she would have known about this and almost certainly would not have chosen to hold elections when she did.

It was no secret that Mrs. Gandhi's in-

telligence about what was happening in the countryside was not reliable and that she regularly queried visitors from abroad about what they saw.

Last April, in a village in central India several dignitaries, including the director of the central government's Agricultural Research Institute, came from New Delhi to boost farmers' morale. When they learned that a visitor from the United States had spent a month on two communes in China, the villagers asked her to speak. Afterward their questions were not on things like average yields or monthly wages. Rather, they asked insistently, "How do the Chinese handle family planning?"

Several weeks later about 100 miles north of Bombay, where the people are among the most primitive in India, the writer decided to abandon her jeep and, with a local official as her guide, started out on foot for villages that were virtually inaccessible any other way. The villages were completely empty when we arrived.

"They are hiding," said the guide in explanation. "They think we are coming to round them up for vaccination operations!"

This was in Maharashtra, the state that had

just passed the most ambitious sterilization campaign in the country.

What was evident was that abuses were built into the procedure. The respected Economic and Political Weekly of Bombay dared to warn, at the time, that "the central and state governments must ensure that all and sundry are not encouraged to take the law into their own hands."

Sham Lal, the editor of the Times of India, in an interview, said, "The system couldn't take the strain. It was bound to fail. Emergency is proof of that. I don't agree that it had to take the form it did, but something had to be done. Things had been getting out of hand." "By the time the country had to face the consequences of the severe drought of 1972, the Congress Party had already been weakened by the split of 1968. Between 1972 and 1974 inflation was running at 60 percent. India was a food exporting country in the '60s. The country could feed itself then. In the early '70s, when capital-intensive planning was used, we didn't know about the population explosion."

India is always being asked "What are you doing about your population problem?" After all, in a new category of low-interest loans the World Bank alligates "that loans would be extended only to countries which were regarded

as making reasonable development efforts in relations to their resource base and development potential."

But it is reported that almost twice the target of 4.3 million sterilizations for 1974-77 were performed. In fact, the number already was exceeded by the end of the first six months. Riots against compulsory sterilization were reported from places within 75 miles of New Delhi.

What went wrong was that India was tackling its population problem with historically discredited methods. In taking over the British administrative and educational systems, India also took over the Imperial attitude toward subordinates. Added to the complex structure of its own caste attitudes, this mix provided no guidelines for dealing with the poor when they have the vote and a secret ballot.

And the proof was in the ballot. The government's most crushing defeats were in precisely those areas where coercive methods were most severely applied — in the north, where the Congress Party was traditionally strongest.

Mrs. Ambrose is former editor of *Co-Indian University Forum*, and has written extensively on developing countries. She has visited India twice, most recently in the spring of 1976.